2019

British women missionaries, Chinese women, and the Protestant rescue project in Hong Kong and China, 1850-1940

Tamara Cooper
University of Wollongong

BRITISH WOMEN MISSIONARIES, CHINESE WOMEN, AND THE PROTESTANT RESCUE PROJECT IN HONG KONG AND CHINA, 1850-1940

Tamara Cooper

Supervisors:

Associate Prof. Julia Martinez, Associate Prof. Frances Steel, and Dr. Claire Lowrie

This thesis is presented as part of the requirement for the conferral of the degree:

Doctor of Philosophy

This research has been conducted with the support of the Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship

University of Wollongong

School of Humanities and Social Inquiry

March 2019

Abstract

This thesis examines the British women's missionary movement in Hong Kong and China from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century exploring the ways in which British women missionaries sought to define their relationships with Chinese women and girls. It examines the rise of the single woman missionary and considers how these new professional opportunities for women influenced the evangelical movement in China. The thesis analyses how missionaries framed Chinese culture and customs in a way that constructed Chinese women and girls as victims, thereby justifying missionary intervention into Chinese society. It pays particular attention to education and medicine as core elements of the missionary movement and considers how women positioned themselves within these projects. The thesis revisits the scholarship on the *mui tsai* controversy to locate the missionary within these debates. Overall this thesis seeks to reveal the personal nature of female mission and its impact on the wider missionary movement.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisors Associate Professor Julia Martínez, Associate Professor Frances Steel and Dr Claire Lowrie for their support and guidance on this project. Their expertise has been invaluable. They have always been available to answer my questions and help me find solutions to the problems that inevitably eventuated, I am extremely grateful for all their advice.

I would also like to extend my thanks and gratitude towards my parents, without whose support I could not have completed this project. They always believed in my ability to finish this research even when I doubted that ability myself.

Like any historical research project, this project could not have been completed without the support of staff from various archives and libraries. I would like to thank the staff from the SOAS Library at the University of London; the staff from the Women's Library at the London School of Economics; the staff at the British Library and the staff at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford for their guidance and help negotiating their archival collections. I would also like to thank Ivana Frlan from the Cadbury Research Library Special Collections at the University of Birmingham for her expertise on the organisation of the Church Missionary Society archives and Emily Burgoyne from the Angus Library, Oxford for her help with the Baptist Missionary Society archives.

I would also like to thank the friends and colleagues who took the time to read various drafts from this project and give advice. I also need to thank my friends from outside of academia who have supported and kept me sane throughout my PhD journey.

Certification

I, Tamara Cooper, declare that this thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the conferral of the degree Doctor of Philosophy, from the University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Tamara Cooper

30 March 2019

Table of Contents

Introduction 1
Missionary Authorship and Emotions 10
Protestant Rescue Project and Mui Tsai 17
Missionaries and Imperialism 23
Chapter Outline 27
Chapter One: The Arrival of British Missionaries in Hong Kong and China 31
Missions in China and Hong Kong at the time of the First and Second Opium Wars 33
The Expansion of Missionary Societies in the aftermath of the First Opium War 37
Conclusion 42
Chapter Two: China Inland Mission and the Lammermuir Party 44
James Hudson Taylor and the Lammermuir Party 48
Women's Work in China and Chinese Distrust 55
The Shansi (Shanxi) Orphanage 67
Conclusion 70
Chapter Three: Single Women Missionaries in China and White Maternalism 72
The Call for Women 75
Chinese Biblewomen 84
Missionaries and Chinese Culture 87
Women Missionaries and Feminism 104
Conclusion 107
Chapter Four: The Protestant Rescue Project and the Victoria Home and Orphanage 110
The Protestant Rescue Project 112
Education and Rescue in China and Hong Kong 115
The Victoria Home and Orphanage 123
Christian Education, Chinese Women and Modernity 142
Conclusion 145
Chapter Five: Women Medical Missionaries in China 148
Early medical missions in China 149
Women Medical Missionaries in China 155
Medical Missions and Chinese Women 174
Conclusion 176
Chapter Six: Protecting *Mui Tsai* in Hong Kong and China 179
The *Mui tsai* Controversy in the Nineteenth Century 182
The Advocacy of Missionaries 188
Missionaries and Rescue 194
Missionaries and Politics 206

Conclusion 210
Conclusion 212
Appendices 219
Bibliography 227
Primary Sources 227
Secondary Sources 230

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Maria and James Hudson Taylor 51

Figure 2: The Lammermuir Party 53

Figure 3: Maria Taylor and Emily Blatchley during the Yangchau riot 63

Figure 4: Victoria Home Sponsorship for 1892 136

Introduction

This thesis examines the role of women in the British missionary movement in China and the British colony of Hong Kong in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is primarily concerned with exploring the views expressed by women missionaries relating to the welfare of Chinese women and children. This thesis spans one century of missionary work, beginning in 1842, when British missionaries were formally allowed to live and work in those parts of China that came under the terms of the Treaty of Nanking, and ending in 1940 just before the Japanese wartime occupation of parts of China. It traces the introduction and rise of women missionaries in China and examines their interactions with Chinese women and girls. A key aim of the thesis is to explore how women missionaries sought to legitimise and validate their interventions into Chinese cultural practices through the Protestant rescue project. This is considered in the later chapters of the thesis through a number of case studies that consider missionary endeavours in relation to social, educational and medical projects as well as their relationship with imperial politics.

Since the 1880s there had been a steady rise in the number of women joining the missionary movement. By the turn of the twentieth century, women missionaries had come to dominate the mission field in China.[1] Male missionaries argued for an increase in women missionaries on the grounds that men were unable to reach the women and children of China due to the strict gender segregation of Chinese society.[2] As such missionary work became an increasingly respectable profession for single women.[3] With the new focus on women missionaries it was envisaged that there would be a shift in the way evangelisation was carried

[1] Delia Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', *Women's History Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1992, pp.257-271.
[2] Oswald Dykes, 'Introduction' in Adele Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*, London, UK, T. Ogilvie Smith, 1887, p.x; Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, The West, and the Woman Question in China*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 2008, pp.8-10.
[3] See Rhonda Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, Suffolk, UK, Boydell Press, 2003.

out. Whereas early male missionaries, had communicated mostly with the literate elite of Chinese society and the merchant class, women missionaries were expected to shift their efforts towards working directly with those women and children most in need, thus giving an impression of a more egalitarian missionary movement.

This new form of missionary interaction was framed around the idea of the Protestant rescue project. This project saw women missionaries establish and maintain rescue centres, schools and medical facilities that they used to intervene in the lives of women and children. The project was justified by means of an emotional rhetoric of great need that was used to both legitimise and facilitate evangelisation alongside other medical, social and educational outcomes. It also presented women with an opportunity to take on leadership roles in the wider missionary movement. Drawing on the lives of several women missionaries, both married and single, this thesis explores the nature of female mission. The thesis analyses the methods of missionary work undertaken by women in China, thereby bringing to light the complexity of the women's missionary movement and the central role that some women played in colonial disputes.

Tracing the women's missionary movement in China over the course of a century, it becomes clear that there was a distinct change in the nature of the missionary movement. The most significant change was the increase of single women employed as missionaries, as outlined in chapter three. However, there were more subtle changes to the movement over the period. In the 1850s the women's missionary movement was largely voluntary and concentrated in small societies like the Female Education Society (FES), who were dependant on the patronage of titled peers for financial assistance. By the 1940s these societies had become professionalised and absorbed into larger missionary societies. This

professionalisation is traced by Semple in her work.[4] These larger missionary societies also developed women's boards to oversee the work of women missionaries.[5]

While the missionary societies considered in this thesis had their headquarters in Britain, it would not be strictly correct to refer these women as British. Membership of missionary societies, particularly faith missions like the China Inland Mission, was international, reflecting the transnationalism of the missionary movement. According to Claire Midgely, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier, by placing women's organisations and women's voices at the heart of a transnational history, scholarship can beyond the conceptual to examine the ways in which personal relationships can define the transnational.[6] This thesis, particularly in its consideration of China, thus considers the voices of a range of white missionary women working for and alongside British missions, including American, Australian and Swiss nationals, all of whom were united in their commitment to the idea of Protestant rescue.[7]

Histories of Women Missionaries

There has been considerable historical research into the global women's missionary movement. One of the first explorations of missionary women, published in 1980, was R. Pierce Beaver's *American Protestant Women in World Mission* which framed the American women's missionary movement as the first feminist movement. Beaver argued that missionary work provided women with opportunities for independence and participation in public life previously denied to them.[8] After the 1980s most historical scholarship tended to shy away

[4] Semple, *Missionary Women*, 2003.
[5] Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*, Cambridge, UK, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2014, pp.354-5.
[6] Claire Midgely, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier, 'Introduction' in Claire Midgley, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier (eds) *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global*, New York, Routledge, 2016, p.2.
[7] See Howard Taylor, James Hudson Taylor, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, London: Morgan and Scott, 1893, pp.472-3.
[8] R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, (rev. ed.) Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1980.

from labelling missionaries as feminists, though recent scholarship has returned to this point of examination.[9] The achievements of women missionaries in areas such as education and medicine, and their humanitarian work, such as the anti-footbinding campaigns, had elements of feminism. However, missionary women for the most part held back from advocating for the kind of globalised modernity that feminist reformers in the British Metropole sought to encourage.

Another path-breaking study of American women missionaries is Patricia Grimshaw's *Paths of Duty* which chronicled the lives of missionary wives in Hawai'i.[10] She argued that despite the fact that missionary wives followed their husbands into the mission field, they were 'part of a separate female agenda.'[11] For Grimshaw, the presence of these women in Hawai'i extended the role of mission by providing a model of the Christian private sphere, or 'the ordering of marriage, parenting, and family life.'[12] Grimshaw was among the first to argue that missionary women had their own capacity within the wider missionary movement and were more than just an extension of the male missionary. This thesis expands on this notion by examining missionary women as individual agents.

Emily Manktelow's *Missionary Families,* which explores the construction of the missionary family in the mission field, furthers the idea that demonstrating Christian behaviour was integral to mission.[13] Manktelow considers women as part of the wider family unit that included men and children. She argues that by looking at the history of missions through the lens of the family new insights into the 'practice and evolution of mission' can be acquired.[14]

---

[9] See Connie Shemo, 'Directions in Scholarship on American Women and Protestant Foreign Mission: Debates over "Cultural Imperialism"', *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2012, p.273.
[10] Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Hawaii*, Hawai'i, HI, University of Hawai'i Press, 1989.
[11] Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, p.193.
[12] Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, p.193.
[13] Emily J. Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, gender and generation on the spiritual frontier*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2013.
[14] Manktelow, *Missionary Families,* p.16.

Her research features a distinctly biographical element and considers the 'fall of the missionary wife' as well as the subsequent rise in single women missionaries in an increasingly institutionalised and secularised missionary movement.[15]

Single women missionaries have received more specific attention from historians. Rhonda Semple, in her 2003 book *Missionary Women*, explored the lives and work of single women missionaries, positing that the women's missionary movement helped to professionalise typically female gendered jobs.[16] Her work revealed much about the selection criteria that female candidates needed to meet, as well as the training they undertook. Like Manktelow, Semple did not limit her study to one location but instead examined missionaries working for a number of different societies including the London Missionary Society and the China Inland Mission.

The role of American women missionaries in China is the subject of a substantial literature. The most extensive treatment of this subject is Jane Hunter's book *The Gospel of Gentility*.[17] Here Hunter analysed the presence of American women missionaries in China at the turn of the twentieth century, and their impact on Chinese women and children. She reasoned that the transfer of the domestic home and sphere of the American woman missionary was, in itself, a form of evangelisation, similar to Grimshaw's argument about missionary wives. Hunter did this by tracing the lives and work of a number of women missionaries.[18] The edited collection *Competing Kingdoms* also examined American missionary women in China, exploring the role they played in the expansion of the American Protestant Empire.[19] Connie

[15] Emily J. Manktelow, 'The Rise and Demise of Missionary Wives', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 26, No.1, 2014, pp.135-159.
[16] Semple, *Missionary Women*.
[17] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1984.
[18] Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*.
[19] Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Missions and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2010.

Shemo, in her article 'How better could she serve her country?' considered the relationship between an American woman missionary and a young Chinese girl she had adopted. She posited that the young Chinese girl was a cultural translator between the American missionaries and Chinese society.[20]

There is a similarly rich literature on the British women's missionary movement in China. Valerie Griffiths chronicled the lives of British women missionaries as well as a specific form of evangelism, the training of biblewomen and its extension to China. Delia Davin has examined the motivations behind the British women's missionary movement's expansion into China. She specifically explored the link between the movement and charitable endeavours, in an overarching exploration missionary history in China.[21] Janet Lee has used the case of single Protestant women missionaries in China to consider how gender was socially constructed in the lives of missionary women. This thesis takes a somewhat narrower focus than these broader examinations, undertaking a detailed analysis of the lives of individual women.

Following on from Manktelow and Semple in its focus on the prominence of single women missionaries, this thesis outlines how missionary societies in the late nineteenth century argued that single women missionaries were necessary for the successful conversion of the Chinese population, as is explored in chapter three. As a result of this targeted recruitment, missionary societies created a narrative around the necessity of single women missionaries. It would be easy to assume that this narrative signified the adoption of feminist ideals within the movement. However, the characterisation of women missionaries as feminists is a fraught, and inherently flawed, idea.

[20] Connie Shemo, '"How better could she serve her country?": Cultural Translators, US Women's History, and Kang Cheng's "An Amazon in Cathay"', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2009, pp.111-133.
[21] Valerie Griffiths, 'Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2008, pp.521-541; Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', pp.257-271.

Following the publication of R. Pierce Beaver's *American Protestant Women in World Mission* which claimed that women missionaries were the first feminists, scholarship retreated from this idea.[22] However, recent scholarship has returned to the concept with Elizabeth Prevost's *The Communion of Women*, which proposed the term 'missionary feminism'.[23] For Prevost, missionary feminism was the development of a 'Christianised ideology of women's rights' alongside ideas of imperial feminism that 'were challenged, modified, and mediated' by the missionaries' relationships with indigenous women.[24] Prevost argued that missionary feminism developed in parallel with the women's rights movements in the British Metropole and that the two movements influenced each other. She situates this feminism within the larger context of the women's movement in Britain and not in the removed sphere of influence that most scholarship situates missionary women. Her study focused on women working in the British colonies in Africa during the early twentieth century.

The idea of women missionaries as feminist inevitably introduces the concept of modernity into their mission. Margaret Allen has examined the intersection of these ideas in her research into the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in India. Allen highlights the independence and mobility of the young women involved in the YWCA as being synonymous with modernity, yet, also concedes their location within the Christian missionary movement means that they are generally not associated with the concept of modernity.[25] This tension is further complicated as women missionaries themselves claim to be bringing modernity to those they are evangelising.[26] Ultimately, Allen concludes that the women of the

[22] Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission*, 1980.
[23] Elizabeth Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2010.
[24] Prevost, *The Communion of Women,* p.8; See also Alison Twells, 'Review of The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2012, p.344.
[25] Margaret Allen, '"That's the Modern Girl" Missionary Women and Modernity in Kolkata, c.1907-c.1940', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010, p.83.
[26] Allen, "'That's the Modern Girl"', pp.83-4, Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, p.

YWCA embody the idea of modernity, while rejecting the Eurocentric notion that modernity was the product of the Western world alone.[27]

The idea of modernity as an exclusively Western product is often at the heart of the tension found in the modernity debate. The idea of modernity in the era of nation-building is taken up by Penny Edwards in her examination of the French colony of Cambodia (Cambodge).[28] Here Edwards recognises the interdependency of imperial and national identities.[29] This explanation of modernity and nation building acknowledges the agency of indigenous actors in this period while conceding the contribution of Western actors, potentially resolving the inherent tension of modernity.

Unchallenged and separate, these definitions of feminism and modernity, can appear benign, masking the colonial nature of missionary exchanges, particularly in the context of China. Perhaps then, a more appropriate framework for understanding the nature of feminism and modernity in regard to women missionaries is the idea of maternalism. Historian Margaret Jacobs defines maternalism as a political framework that uses a woman's domestic role as the centre point of its advocacy and potentially a form of feminism.[30] She identifies an emphasis on child rearing and the desire to 'raise women up' as key components of maternalism, chapter three of this thesis examines these ideas in great detail.[31] Framing missionary encounters within the idea of maternalism acknowledges the increased opportunities that these missionary women were given due to the missionary movement while still acknowledging the role they played in maintaining colonial discourses.

---

[27] Allen, '"That's the Modern Girl'", p.92.
[28] Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation*, 1860-1945, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
[29] Edwards, *Cambodge*, p.8.
[30] Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race {Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940}*, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 2011, p.89.
[31] Jacobs, *Whiter Mother to a Dark Race*, p.89.

Indeed, the idea of maternalism better suits the overarching narrative of the women's missionary movement than feminism or modernity. The women within this movement felt that as Christian women they had a sense of responsibility and 'sisterhood' towards women that they considered to be less fortunate. Historian Steven Maughan observed that this was particularly true for Protestant women. As he put it: 'Anglican women developed a sense of international responsibility for non-western women and children'.[32] This narrative of missionary work was framed within the racialised logic of colonialism and was patronising in its depiction of Chinese women. However, historian Sarah Paddle pushes back against this reading. Paddle's research into the lives of 150 Australian missionary women with the China Inland Mission in the early twentieth century, shows that at least some missionaries were resisting the traditional narrative. She argues that China's evolving political and social culture in the early years of the twentieth century forced missionaries to 'reconceptualise their work against a changing discourse of Chinese womanhood.'[33] This reconceptualization allowed Chinese women to demonstrate greater agency in their encounters with missionaries.

Despite the idea that maternalism better suits the women's missionary movement than feminism or modernity, questions of feminism and modernity are important for the framework of this thesis. While the extent to which they are at play in the history examined remains a secondary question for the thesis, an understanding of the concepts helps to expose some of the tension within the thesis. By taking up professional positions with the missionary movement as single women, these missionaries were embodying the idea of feminism, yet, the nature of their encounters with Chinese women and girls reveals their limited capacity to fully engage with the modernity that feminism promised.

[32]Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, p.228.
[33] Sarah Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010, p.67.

The primary question for this thesis concerns how missionaries defined the character of their work and how they sought to justify and legitimise their intervention into the lives of Chinese women and children. This thesis extends the established scholarship on women missionaries by examining the rise of single women missionaries in China and how they used their own experiences to legitimise missionary intervention. In turn this examination exposes the juxtaposition of contemporary and traditional ideas that were at play in the nineteenth and twentieth century missionary movement. This thesis does not seek to resolve this tension but rather highlight its impact. Key to this analysis is an examination of the writings of missionary women.

Missionary Authorship and Emotions

As historian Anna Johnston has observed, 'British Protestant missionaries were prolific writers.'[34] Through their letters, diaries, articles, novels, memoirs, travel logs, mission reports, and explanatory texts, missionaries documented the entire missionary experience and became 'characterised by authorship as much as by daring deeds in foreign climes.'[35] The texts of missionaries became an integral and substantive part of the imperial archive. Their writings, even their personal letters, were often formulaic and written with the goal of publication in mind. Through these texts, missionaries expounded on their assumed moral authority using a rhetoric of immorality and conversion. They sought to provide proof of the 'horrors' to which women in China were subjected. For women missionaries, who were working primarily with women and children in China, this rhetoric created a space in which they were able to evangelise. A key component of this thesis is an examination of the writings of women missionaries.

[34] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.3.
[35] Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, p.3.

This thesis is drawn from a number of archival sources including the collections of the China Inland Mission, the London Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Church of England Women's Missionary Association held in the SOAS Library at the University of London; the collection of the Church Missionary Society held in the Cadbury Research Library Special Collections at the University of Birmingham; and the collections of the Baptist Missionary Society held in the Angus Library at Regent's Park College, Oxford. It also draws on the writings of women from a number of advocate societies including the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene whose records are held in the Women's Library at the London School of Economics and campaigners from the Anti-Slavery Society whose archives are held in the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford. In addition, this thesis utilises the substantive published literature of women missionaries published independently through publishing houses and missionary societies. It also draws ton the substantive archive of personal papers housed within these collections.

While it is clear that there is a substantial archive of material to examine, and that there is truth to Johnson's assertion that missionaries were prolific writers, these sources are not unproblematic. While we may like to imagine that personal papers give unfettered insight into the life of the person who wrote them, this is not the case with missionary papers. As noted by Johnston, missionary sources were formulaic and written with the goal of publication. According to Robert Bickers and David Arnold, this makes them problematic and 'tainted'.[36] Another issue with missionary sources is that they are often teleological, telling the story of Christian progress and betterment. Brian Stanley observes that much of the early history of Christian missions was written 'as a [sic] encyclopaedic catalogue of European institutions and

[36] David Arnold and Robert Bickers, 'Introduction', in Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Surrey, UK, Curzon Press, 1996, p.3.

progress' aimed at the faithful.[37] Bickers also points out that there is a language barrier as they are usually written in languages that are foreign to their locations, for instance missionary histories about China are rarely written in Chinese.[38] Another limitation of the sources used is that, due to the imperial nature of the archives, women's voices tend to be obscured. Where missionary women's writings are published, married women are listed under the name of their husbands, disguising their contributions to the missionary society.

Despite these limitations, missionary sources still provide valuable insight. As Stanley argues, missionary history has moved beyond 'narrowly-focused church history' to 'become an integral part of the expanding industry of historical and anthropological scholarship'.[39] Eugene Stock's history of the Church Missionary Society, for example, provides insights into how societies saw themselves and their work. They also provide useful chronologies of the society's history. Missionary sources are often very detail-orientated when it comes to describing the work and lives of missionaries. While the personal papers of missionaries are formulaic, they still provide an insight into the mindset of missionaries and the way they defined their roles. The range of auto-biographical missionary sources is rich and varied, given that many missionaries during their time overseas or after their retirement wrote accounts of their lives as missionaries.

Post-colonial scholars have used this literature to critique the missionary role as cultural imperialists. Johnston, in her book *Missionary Writing and Empire,* analysed missionary writing in the context of imperial expansion up until 1860.[40] Using the archive of the London

[37] Brian Stanley, 'Some problems in writing a missionary society history today: The example of the Baptist Missionary Society' in Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Richmond, Surrey, UK, Curzon Press, 1996, p.38.
[38] Arnold and Bickers, 'Introduction', p.3. While this thesis does similarly rely on English language sources, though we are now able to contextualise these sources within a historical framework that has taken account of Chinese language writings.
[39] Stanley, 'Some problems in writing a missionary society history today', p.38.
[40] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire.*

Missionary Society she argues that missionary texts and imperial texts were complicit with each other. As she puts it, missionary activity 'was central to the work of European colonialism' and provided a moral justification and authority for this work.[41] Hanna Acke similarly argues that missionary writing was used to legitimise proselytization, with missionaries using overtly emotional language to connect readers with the Chinese population thereby legitimising mission. Though she does emphasise that this was not always a conscious undertaking by missionaries.[42] Anthropologist Marianne Gullestad's study of photographs taken and published by Norwegian evangelical missionaries, *Picturing Pity*, visually displayed this propaganda element in missionary publications.[43]

Other post-colonial critiques have focused on the role of race in missionary literature. Esme Cleall's book *Missionary Discourses of Difference* suggests that for British missionaries, racial categorization and hierarchy was more important than the potential for religious conversion.[44] Connie Shemo, in contrast, argued that for American missionaries, the adoption of Christian attitudes and beliefs elevated Chinese people to a pseudo-American status.[45] This thesis considers the extent to which missionary literature constructed the victimhood of Chinese women, propagating a racialized understanding of Chinese gender norms, as a means of validating the missionary movement, and more specifically the Protestant rescue project. Key to this examination is the use of emotional language by missionaries within their mission literature.

[41] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, p.13.
[42] Hanna Acke, 'The Evocation of Emotions in a Swedish Missionary Periodical' in Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives*, Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, p.203.
[43] Marianne Gullestad, *Picturing Pity: Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-Cultural Communication. Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission*, New York, NY, Berghahn Books, 2007.
[44] Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
[45] Shemo, '"How better could she serve her country"', pp.111-133.

For missionaries, the role of emotions within evangelisation was important, being self-consciously discussed in their personal writings.[46] As historians, Claire McLisky and Karen Vallgarda have recently observed: 'For Protestant missionaries… Christian love was both the foundation of their faith and the basis on which their claims to moral righteousness rested.'[47] This thesis will engage with emotions history as part of the framework for analysing missionary work. In China and Hong Kong, women missionaries relied upon evocations of emotion, especially love, to legitimise and create a space for their evangelical work. They used a rhetoric of love to construct a need for Christianity, positing it as a solution to what they saw as problems within Chinese society. This can be understood in the context of what Barbara Rosenwein, an historian of emotions, describes as 'emotional communities'. These communities are similar to social communities but instead of emphasising a shared identity they emphasise 'systems of feeling' and where the aim of the researcher is to identify how these systems help the community 'define and assess [things] as valuable or harmful to them'.[48]

Missionaries believed that Christian love would 'rescue' women and children who, living under so-called 'heathenism', did not know love and as a result were abused and neglected.[49] This rhetoric was predicated on the notion of Christian love as the only legitimate form of love. It also relied on the missionaries' assumption of their own moral authority and superiority. The rhetoric put forward a simple case: by converting to Christianity, Chinese women and children would know Christian love, and by knowing Christian love they would be 'saved'. This trope, which was familiar to the reading audience in England, relied on deliberately emotive language, which helped to assert the legitimate moral authority of the

[46] Claire Mclisky and Karen Vallgarda, 'Faith Through Feeling: An Introduction', in Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives*, Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.4-5, 2-3.
[47] Mclisky and Vallgarda, 'Faith Through Feeling: An Introduction', p.5.
[48] Barabara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, June, 2002, p.842.
[49] For missionaries this neglect and abuse included the practice of footbinding, female infanticide, opium, and Chinese marriage practices among others.

missionary. At the same time, it helped to create a need for conversion by positing the transformative capacities of Christian love, thereby justifying the process of evangelisation.

Another way in which missionaries sought to legitimise their evangelisation was through their construction of 'victimhood', actively representing certain cultural practices as demeaning and cruel towards women. Janet Lee's article 'Between Subordination and She-Tiger' explored how single Protestant women missionaries in China deliberately constructed Chinese women as victims.[50] Her analysis is concerned with examining how these women stretched ideas of Victorian femininity through their roles as missionaries, an argument that contests Beaver's earlier assessment that through their feminist activism missionary women shattered such ideals. At the same time, however, Lee's work highlights the way that missionary women manipulated colonial ideas about Chinese womanhood. For Lee, the construction of Chinese women's victimhood was an implicit consequence of the gender construction that was complicit in colonialism.[51] Rather than focusing solely on colonialism, this thesis examines the role that emotion played in the construction of victimhood.

Despite the relative newness of the study of emotions, there is an established body of scholarship. For historians, this study has become a crucial framework for exploring the intersection of the 'boundaries between private and public [and] the personal and collective.'[52] The prolific writing of missionaries is replete with emotional expression and the missionary archive contains numerous commentaries on the 'subject of emotional expression.'[53] A recent edited collection by Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda, *Emotions and Christian Missions* draws on this archive to question how missionaries utilised the rhetoric and

[50] Janet Lee, 'Between Subordination and She-Tiger: Social Constructions of White Femininity in the lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 6, 1996, pp.621-632.
[51] Lee, 'Between Subordination and She-Tiger', pp.621-632.
[52] Jacqueline van Gent and Spencer E. Young, 'Introduction: Emotions and Conversion', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015, p.461.
[53] Mclisky and Vallgarda, 'Faith Through Feeling: An Introduction', p.3.

lexicon of emotion in their endeavours.[54] The collection features a chapter by Hanna Acke, mentioned above, who examines the use of emotions as propaganda in missionary writing. In her chapter on 'Converting Emotions', Angharad Eyre argues that self-sacrifice was a major theme of the writing of women missionaries and in their self-representation.[55] Eyre also observed that due to the close relationship between emotion and the evangelical experience, the authenticity of missionary emotion should not be dismissed. [56]

This thesis examines the ways in which missionaries manipulated emotions in their literature to justify their intervention into Chinese culture, as described in chapter three. Allen and Jane Haggis have argued that missionary publications were 'geared to an audience "at home"' as opposed to the mission field.[57] As a result the emotions discussed in these publications were for the benefit of those who supported the work, morally and financially. Despite this manipulation as Eyre has observed, the authenticity of missionary emotion should not be simply dismissed. Herein lies one of the tensions explored within the thesis. There is no doubt that in all probability women missionaries did form attachments to the women and girls they were working with, even as they used these emotions to demonstrate the 'good' of the movement. This thesis pushes back against the temptation to use missionary literature and emotions as an unmediated view into the life of a missionary, rather it seeks to use these elements to examine the ways in which missionaries understood their roles through their own construction of their role.

[54] Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives*, Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
[55] Angharad Eyre, 'Converting Emotions: Domesticity and Self-Sacrifice in Female Missionary Writing' in Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives*, Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.179-201.
[56] Acke, 'The Evocation of Emotions in a Swedish Missionary Periodical'; Eyre, 'Converting Emotions', pp.180-1, pp.182-3.
[57] Margaret Allen and Jane Haggis, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective communities of mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications c1880-1920', *Journal of Social History*, Spring, 2008, p.691.

Protestant Rescue Project and Mui Tsai

Central to the argument of this thesis is the idea of the Protestant rescue project, a project which drew on ideas formulated in campaigns for child rescue first developed in Britian. These ideas are implicit in writings on the phenomenon of orphan trains, state run programs that transported orphaned and homeless children to foster facilities in other parts of the country, and child migration.[58] At the core of the child rescue movement was the desire to provide the child with an opportunity for betterment through Christianity. In *Child, Nation, Race, and Empire,* Shurlee Swaine and Margot Hillel argue that the rescue movement, in England, culminated with the emigration of children to other parts of the British Empire.[59] In China and Hong Kong the rescue movement developed by missionaries aimed to create good Christian wives and husbands. It did this through its establishment of schools for young Chinese girls and boys which taught the children Christian values and ideals and encouraged conversion.

In her recent book, Julia Stone examined one aspect of the rescue movement in China through her analysis of a German missionary foundling home.[60] In an article, '"Rescuing" and Raising Basket Babies', Stone explores how contradictory attitudes towards gender within the home caused its ultimate collapse.[61] She argues that despite the gendered campaign of victimhood launched by missionaries to justify rescue, there was ultimately not enough demand for the home - a situation which suggested that victimhood did not necessarily capture the

[58] Tobias Hubinette, 'From Orphan Trains to Babylifts: Colonial Trafficking, Empire Building, and Social Engineering' in Jane Jeong Trenka, Julia Chinyere Oparah and Sun Yung Shin (eds) *Outsiders Within: Writing on Transracial Adoption*, Boston, MA, South End Books, 2006, pp.139-149; Shurlee Swaine, 'Sweet Childhood Lost: Idealized Images of Childhood in the British Child Rescue Literature', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2009, pp.198-214; Shurlee Swaine, 'Centre and Periphery in British Child Rescue Discourse' in Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy (eds) *Rethinking Colonial Histories: new and alternative approaches*, Melbourne, Aust., University of Melbourne Press, 2006, pp.157-165.
[59] Shurlee Swaine and Margot Hillel, *Child, nation, race, and empire: Child rescue discourse, England Canada, and Australia, 1850-1915*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2010.
[60] Julia Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies: A German Missionary Foudling Home and the Girls It Raised (1850s-1914)*, Weisbaden, Germany, Otto Harrassowitz, 2013.
[61] Julia Stone, '"Rescuing" And Raising Basket Babies: Chinese Foundling Girls, Female Infanticide, and German Missionary Gender Role Contestations (1850s-1914)', in J. Cho and D. McGetchin (eds) *Gendered Encounters between Germany and Asia*, London, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp.65-84.

experiences of Chinese women on the ground. Stone posits that concerns over class further complicated and exacerbated these gender contradictions.[62] Sue Gronewold similarly explored the theme of rescue in her thesis on the Anglo-American Door of Hope Mission, in which she argues that women missionaries had to reconsider their own ideas about womanhood in light of their encounters with young Chinese women.[63]

This thesis uses the framework of the Protestant rescue project to examine the interactions women missionaries had with Chinese girls. The first part of the project is concerned with the validation and legitimisation of mission, the second part is the actual act of rescue. A successful rescue then reinforces the need for missionaries, thus validating the mission. This thesis looks at this circular process through numerous case studies, including cultural attitudes to women, orphanages and medical missions. One primary case study highlighted in chapter six is the *mui tsai* controversy. This controversy is highlighted here because it embodies the multiple tensions embedded in missionary perspectives on modernity, feminism, maternalism and colonialism.

Mui tsai, in the Chinese context, were the young bonded female domestic servants whose employment became the subject of an international controversy during the 1920s and 1930s due to its association with slavery. As one of the more divisive colonial disputes of the interwar period, the *mui tsai* controversy has a well-established historiography. One of the earliest analyses is by Carl T. Smith, titled: 'The Chinese Church, Labour, and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s'. His account provides a chronology of the controversy from its instigation in the late nineteenth century to its awkward conclusion in the late 1930s, basing

[62] Stone, '"Rescuing" And Raising Basket Babies', pp.78-79.
[63] Sue Ellen Gronewold, 'Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Tapei, 1900-1976', PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1996.

his account almost entirely on British Colonial Office documents.[64] Historian John Carroll, labelled the controversy: 'One of the most intense and protracted British colonial policy disputes of the interwar period', in his book *A Concise History of Hong Kong*. He reminds us that the fate of these young girls took on symbolic significance, provoking debates over the moral legitimacy of the colonial project and raising the question as to whether slavery was protected under British rule.[65] More recently, feminist historians have challenged this reading.

Susan Pederson's article 'The Maternalist Moment' places the controversy within the history of feminism. She traces its development against the wider transnational context of imperial and feminist history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Primarily, she is concerned with the role maternalism played in the abolitionist campaign. Her article explores how British women, with their assumed moral superiority, believed it was their motherly duty and responsibility to advocate on behalf of the young *mui tsai*. She also explores how white women framed their own pasts as victories against female oppression and slavery.[66] Pederson's research provides a framework for this thesis in that it demonstrates the ways in which imperial women often framed and manipulated their own experiences to justify their interventions overseas.

Sarah Paddle explored the abolition of 'child slavery' in the context of developing feminist movements in the West. Harriet Samuels broadens the context of the *mui tsai* scholarship by arguing that the campaign was an early example of a human rights campaign. Most of these histories focus on the controversy as an episode in the history of Hong Kong and as a custom of Chinese culture, but this scholarship has been extended to include comparisons

[64] Carl T. Smith, 'The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, Vol. 21, 1981, pp.91-113.
[65] John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2007, pp.58-61, pp.110-2.
[66] Susan Pederson, 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over 'Child Slavery' in Hong Kong 1917-1941', *Past & Present*, No. 201, 2008, pp.161-202.

with British Malaya, including a study by Karen Yuen which explores how theories of transnational Chineseness were created throughout the controversy and Rachel Leow's study of non-Chinese *mui tsai*.[67]

The exploration of *mui tsai* as part of the history of female labour, and activists' attempts to regulate it, is another common concern in the historiography, though not one that gains much traction in missionary accounts. In her history of working women in China and Hong Kong during the early twentieth century, Angelina Chin uses the idea of female labour and the categorisation and regulation of it to examine the *mui tsai* controversy. Chin compares the colonial strategies used to manage the *mui tsai* with those used to manage and regulate prostitutes.[68] Gail Hershatter also briefly discusses the issue of *mui tsai* and female indenture in terms of labour.[69] *Mui tsai* also feature in histories of domestic service and empire. In her book *Masters and Servants*, Claire Lowrie considers *mui tsai* in the context of domestic servants and colonial mastery in Singapore during the 1920s and 1930s. While Magaly Rodriguez Garcia also looks at the controversy and the League of Nation's response to it as part of a history of domestic service.[70]

---

[67] Sarah Paddle, 'The Limits of Sympathy: International Feminists and the Chinese 'Slave Girl' Campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2003; Harriet Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign? The Campaign to Abolish Child Slavery in Hong Kong 1919-1938', *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2007, pp.361-384; Karen Yuen, 'Theorizing the Chinese: The Mui Tsai Controversy and Constructions of Transnational Chineseness in Hong Kong and British Malaya', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2004, pp.95-110; Rachel Leow, ' 'Do you own non-Chinese mui tsai?' Re-examining Race and Female Servitude in Malaya and Hong Kong. 1919-1939', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 6, 2012, pp.1752-1763.

[68] Angelina Chin, *Bound to Emancipate: Working Women and Urban Citizenship in Early Twentieth Century China and Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2012, pp.61-2.

[69] Gail Hershatter, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century*, Berkeley, CA: Univeristy of California Press, 2007.

[70] Claire Lowrie, *Masters and Servants: Cultures of Empire in the Tropics*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2016; Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, 'Child Slavery, Sex Trafficking or Domestic Work? The League of Nations and its Analysis of the *Mui Tsai* System' in Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk and Silke Neunsinger (eds), *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, Leiden, Netherlands, Brill, 2015, pp.428-450.

All of these histories locate women within this colonial dispute, and demonstrate the substantial presence that women occupied during this period. However, there is no differentiation between secular actors and missionary actors. While understanding the role of women, and consequently women's labour, forms an important base for this thesis it does not identify the missionary contribution. By differentiating and locating the different missionary voices and motivations within this history, this thesis engages with a more nuanced understanding of the dispute. It also exposes the interconnectedness of women's activism in the early twentieth century.

Within the historical literature, it is rare to hear the voice of the *mui tsai*. Leow comments on the lack of primary sources that represent this voice, suggesting that they 'are today often silent out of shame.'[71] One early attempt to fill this gap in the historiography is Maria Jaschok's *Concubines and Bondservants*. Through a series of interviews and archival research, Jaschok incorporates the testimony of those who were themselves part of the system.[72] Her record of primary evidence also allows other scholars the opportunity to include the experience of the *mui tsai* within their analysis. This thesis also attempts to find and acknowledge the voice of the mui tsai and other Chinese actors within missionary stories. However, due to the sanitisation of Chinese personalities withing missionary sources, this is not always possible. Where it is possible, this thesis seeks to highlight the voice and experience of Chinese women in their interactions with missionaries.

Within the historiography on the *mui tsai* controversy the most extensive treatment of missionaries' role is in the edited book *Women and Chinese Patriarchy*. In this collection, Suzanne Miers examines the role missionaries played in the rescue of *mui tsai*. The book

[71] Leow, ''Do you own non-Chinese mui tsai?', p.1736.
[72] Maria Jaschok, *Concubines and Bondservants: A Social History of Chinese Custom*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988.

includes Janet Lim's account of being a *mui tsai*, and the role that the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in Singapore played in her escape from bonded servitude.[73] Also in the collection, Sarah Refo Mason explores the role of the Presbyterian Mission Home in San Francisco in early twentieth-century trafficking debates.[74] Finally, Maria Jaschok considers the history of the mission home for rescued slave girls in Yunnanfu (Kunming), analysing the home as part of a Christian and feminist response to patriarchy in China.[75]

This thesis revisits the *mui tsai* controversy, exploring the differences between the anti-*mui tsai* protests in Hong Kong and missionary responses to the *mui tsai* institution in China. While missionaries were rarely seen at the forefront of public debates or lobbies, they did maintain a strong anti-*mui tsai* commentary that appears in missionary letters and journals. These writings tended to describe their work on the ground, taking actions to support individual girls, and promoting the role of mission schools, hospitals and rescue homes. This case studies also highlights the discrepancy between lived reality and written record. Most of this advocacy and rescue work was carried out by women missionaries, yet, the archival record is dominated by male voices, as is explored in chapter six.

The thesis does not seek to resolve this tension, but rather I seek to use this tension to explore how the relationship between missionaries and those they sought to rescue worked. By acknowledging this tension, I examine how missionaries constructed their own narrative about their work and how they used this to justify their work. This continues the pushback against

[73] Suzanne Miers, 'Mui Tsai Through the Eyes of the Victim: Janet Lim's Story of Bondage and Escape' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, pp.108-121. See also Janet Lim, *Sold for Silver: An Autobiography of a Girl Sold into Slavery in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Monsoon Books, 2004.
[74] Sarah Refo Mason, 'Social Christianity, American Feminism and Chinese Prostitutes: The History of the Presbyterian Mission Home, San Francisco, 1874-1935' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escap*e, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, pp.198-220.
[75] Maria Jaschok, 'Chinese 'Slave Girls' in Yunnan-fu: Saving (Chinese) Womanhood and (Western) Souls, 1930-1991', in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, pp.171-197.

the idea that missionary writing, and women's writing more generally, provides an unmediated view into the missionary mindset. It also strengthens the argument that missionary work is a construct. This is key to understanding how the woman missionary worked.

Missionaries and Imperialism

This thesis also necessarily engages with themes of imperialism and colonialism. The biographical techniques used in the thesis can sometimes position the missionary in a sympathetic manner, though this positioning is balanced out by including, where possible, Chinese perspectives. It is not the intention of this thesis to justify the missionary involvement in colonial expansion but rather investigate the ways that individuals participated in and related to imperial projects. As Andrew May's account of Welsh missionaries in India shows, a study of individuals can expose how 'network[s] of personal contacts and relationships' inform Britain's imperial relations.[76] In their book *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire*, Jane Haggis, Claire Midgely, Margaret Allen, and Fiona Paisley discuss how India was a 'contact zone' where colonists and colonised could meet and exchange ideas, suggesting a more fluid understanding of cultural imperialism.[77] Mission work is as much about individuals as it is about institutions, yet, this does not excuse the role that missionaries played in maintaining Britain's imperial network through their institutions. By examining individual missionaries, I aim to highlight the very personal nature of mission.

According to Norman Etherington, writing in 2005, the study of missions and empire was unfinished business for scholars of the British Empire.[78] Etherington pointed out that the

[76] Andrew J. May, *Welsh missionaries and British imperialism: The Empire of Clouds in north-east India*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2012, p.271.
[77] Jane Haggis, Claire Midgely, Margaret Allen, and Fiona Paisley, *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire: Interfaith, Cross Cultural, and Transnational Networks, 1860-1950*, Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp.5-6.
[78] Etherington was referring to the Oxford History of the British Empire; a five-volume history of the British Empire in which Etherington's own contribution was the most comprehensive treatment of missions and empire See Norman Etherington, 'Missions and Empire' in Robin Winks (ed.) *Oxford History of the British Empire,*

period of foreign missionary expansion forms only a small part of Christianity's 2,000-year history. This history of Christian expansion can be written without any attention to empire – the same way the history of empire can be written without any attention to missions.[79] Yet, the expansion of foreign Christian missions runs parallel to the history of empire and, of all the cultural artefacts that accompanied the expansion of the British Empire throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christianity was, perhaps, the most visible. Gaining popularity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the foreign missionary movement resulted from a revival of evangelism which 'inspired the intensified thrust of Protestant mission to non-Western peoples.'[80]

The mid-nineteenth century saw a dramatic increase in the activity of foreign missionary movements, in particular, that of the British Protestant missionary movement. The foreign missionary movement grew out of charity work movements in the slums of England. Organisations like the Church Missionary Society and London Missionary Society started their early work with Britain's poor. The term 'mission,' now associated with foreign work, originally referred to work at home, usually in cities such as London or Manchester.[81] In many parts of the colonial world, the missionary movement was facilitated by the formal structures of colonialism. These structures, however, were absent in China, where the Western presence, was relatively small and geographically isolated compared to other parts of the colonial world.[82]

Volume V: Historiography, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.304-314. Norman Etherington, 'Introduction' in N. Etherington (ed.) *Missions and Empire*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2005, p.1.

[79] Etherington, 'Introduction', pp.2-3.

[80] Patricia Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life and the Family' in Philippa Levine (ed.) *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2004, p.263.

[81] Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', pp.257-71.

[82] Miwa Hirono, *Civilising Missions: International Religious Agencies in China*, New York, NY, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p.28.

Even in the absence of formal colonial structures, however, scholars have laid charges of cultural imperialism against the missionary movement in China. What underpins the academic discussion of cultural imperialism, is the recognition 'of the connections between knowledge and power'.[83] Edward Said's influential work, *Orientalism* helped to break down the dichotomy of the 'correctness' and superiority of Western knowledge in relation to non-Western knowledge.[84] According to Andrew Porter, this criticism was applied to the missionary movement because missions were viewed as 'the van of Europe's expansion', helping to lay a path to colonialism by calling indigenous 'customs into question' and eroding 'respect for traditional authorities'.[85] However, Porter is not convinced that the missionaries acted on the same scale as formal colonisers, arguing that, 'indigenous choices and capacity for resistance shaped a process for cultural exchange which often bore little relation to broader imbalances of material power between colonizers and colonized.'[86] The nature of the cultural exchange was far more complex than some explanations of the missionary movement allow.

A large part of the encompassing debate surrounding cultural imperialism is the difficulty that academics and scholars have in defining the term. The debate surrounding the definition of the term imperialism has not abated since the initial use of the phrase in the late nineteenth century. Brian Stanley, a historian of the Baptist Missionary Society, defines imperialism as the 'control by an alien national or racial group; such control may be primarily political or primarily economic, and need not imply formal territorial rule'.[87]

---

[83] Ryan Dunch, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity', *History and Theory*, vol.41, no.3, 2002, pp.301-3.
[84] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York, NY, Vintage Books, 1979; Ryan Dunch, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity', *History and Theory*, vol.41, no.3, 2002, p.303.
[85] Andrew Porter, ''Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1997, p.367.
[86] Porter, ''Cultural Imperialism'', p.388.
[87] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Mission and British Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Leicester, UK, Apollos, 1990, p.34.

Historian Maria Jaschok has written about the need to move away from 'static conceptions of the missionary as simply a 'cultural imperialist' moulding passive recipients of their religious and social work into their own perfect image.' Jaschok posits that there is a need to acknowledge the complex interaction between 'rescuers' and 'victims' that over time 'left no-one…unchanged.' [88] Carol Chin discusses the recent concept of cultural transfer in relation to missionaries in China. While also potentially distancing scholars from the negative connotations of imperialism, this concept acknowledges the process of negotiation that happens when two cultures meet. According to Chin the process of cultural transfer, or transmission, demonstrates that 'cultural messages themselves are often mediated, negotiated, and transformed by the needs, desires, and intentions of the recipients.'[89] It is within this approach to cultural imperialism that this research sits.

This thesis is not seeking to resolve the friction between missionaries and cultural imperialism, but it does recognise and acknowledge that it is operating within the parameters of these phenomena. These parameters extend to more than just the actions of the missionaries, they also carry implications for the sources used. As well as missionary records this thesis utilises colonial government sources, particularly for the study of Hong Kong. These reports while useful for statistics do little to provide insight into the lives of missionaries. However, communication between the governor of Hong Kong and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, can provide glimpses into the missionaries' relationships with the government and, sometimes, their activities. By the same parameters they can reveal glimpses into the restraints put on missionary activity by politics and how imperial records can silence particular actors. This thesis also utilises the digitised databases of Incoming Passenger Lists and Civil

[88] Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, 'Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System: Submission, Servitude, Escape and Collusion', in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, p.16.
[89] Carol C. Chin, 'Beneficit Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2003, p.329.

Registration Death indexes in order to trace the movements of women missionaries, a movement facilitated by the expanding imperial ambitions of colonial powers like Britain. So while this thesis does not conclusively deal with the idea of imperialism and colonialism, it recognises the considerable influence that these ideas carry.

Chapter Outline

This thesis traces the history of missionaries and in particular women missionaries in China from 1842. It traces the rise in demand for women missionaries and their unique contribution to foreign mission. The initial chapters conclude with a discussion of how women missionaries justified their mission in China through a construction of victimhood. Following this discussion, the thesis uses case studies to examine how women missionaries used education and medical projects to further the evangelical mission in China and how they used these projects to define their relationships with Chinese women. It focuses on the contributions of missionaries to rescue that were not a part of formal political campaigns. In this section, the thesis posits that the contribution of missionaries was through the Protestant rescue project.

Chapter one examines the history of missions and the Western presence in China in the nineteenth century. Before the First Opium War, foreign trade and immigration was only allowed through the port of Canton (Guangzhou). In Canton, the movement of foreigners was controlled by the Hoppos who had authority over who could enter China. Both missionaries and traders had to negotiate this system. The ban on European women entering China also meant that those missionaries that worked in China were men. It was not until after the first Opium War that Britain secured its own colony of Hong Kong in 1842 and obliged the Chinese government to open up the so-called Treaty ports in China. This chapter looks briefly at the early histories of the main missionary societies featured in this thesis; the Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, American Missionary Societies, and Women's Missionary Societies.

The second chapter explores the case study of the Lammermuir Party. The Lammermuir Party marks the beginning of the China Inland Mission, the largest missionary society to operate in China. It was also the first missionary society to actively recruit single women as missionaries; eight single women missionaries travelled and worked with this group. The chapter presents brief biographies of a number of women singled out as significant to the society by future biographers. It also looks at the early days of the society in China and how they defined their relationships with Chinese women. There is a significant discussion of how missionary activity by the society resulted in the Chinese population fearing the missionaries and how the society sought to alleviate these fears. It also examines why the China Inland Mission believed that single women were vital to the missionary cause in China.

Chapter three examines the recruitment of single women as missionaries to China following the example of the China Inland Mission. It traces the increasing demand for women missionaries that occurred throughout the 1870s and the 1880s. This rise occurred because it was believed that they were more easily able to evangelise as they were without the commitments and duties of missionary wives. This chapter also considers how missionary women sought to establish their mandate to intervene in Chinese culture by evoking the Protestant rescue project. This project consisted of a continual cycle of validation and legitimisation as well as the act of rescue. Here I also consider the ways in which missionary women used language to deliberately frame the women and children of China as particularly vulnerable and as victims in need of 'saving', emphasising their own feelings of 'horror' in their interpretations of Chinese culture and custom.

Chapter four presents a case study of the Victoria Home and Orphanage in Hong Kong. It is the only chapter to focus exclusively on Hong Kong. Established in 1888, the Victoria Home was one of the largest rescue centres in Hong Kong. Over the course of its history, it was run almost exclusively by women missionaries who, with the exception of its founder

were, single women missionaries. It presents a brief history of rescue centres and the missionary education project in Hong Kong. This chapter argues that missionaries were using education as a tool of rescue. It applies the notion of creating 'emotional communities' and familial bonds within the environment of the home. The chapter also contains a brief discussion of the other forms of rescue that women missionaries were engaging in. There is a secondary strand of enquiry that examines the emerging independence and leadership of single women missionaries in Hong Kong. The chapter also examines missionary claims of bringing modernity to Chinese women and children through education.

Chapter five takes a more thematic approach, considering the work of women as medical missionaries. This chapter follows the careers of three women missionaries and doctors: Dr Charlotte Bacon, Dr Mary Watson, and Dr Ruth Massey. It examines how missionaries contributed to the Protestant rescue project through the proliferation of health care. All three of these medical missionaries interacted with those Chinese girls known as *mui tsai*, and this chapter explores their reaction to this situation. Chapter six also examines how missionaries sought to 'save' the physical bodies of the women and children with whom they were working. Again, here there is an emphasis on the 'emotional communities' these missionaries formed through their medical work.

Chapter six is the final chapter of the thesis. This chapter examines the *mui tsai*, or female 'child slavery' controversy, as it played out in Hong Kong and China, and the role of missionaries within this debate in the late nineteenty century and the first half of the twentieth century. Despite being one of the most divisive colonial disputes of the interwar period and a morally-charged example of western intervention in Chinese culture, missionary commentary and advocacy on behalf of the girls themselves can be hard to locate. Those humanitarians who took the lead, were still strongly influenced by Christian thought and often relied on the findings of missionaries in the field to make their case for abolition of the *mui tsai* system as a

form of slavery. The chapter also expands the examination of missionary rescue projects considered in chapter five. It seeks to analyse missionary claims of a moral modernity.

This thesis seeks to outline the work of women missionaries in China and to determine the extent of their involvement in rescue. This is done by tracking the development of the women's missionary movement in China. It is primarily concerned with examining how these women defined their work and the mechanisms they used to justify it. It pushes back against the temptation to read women's writing as an unmediated medium, this pushback allows analysis that shows the extent to which the work of mission was a construct. The secondary concerns of this thesis – feminism, modernity, maternalism, and colonialism – expose tensions within this history. It is not the intent of this thesis to resolve these tensions. Rather by highlighting them, it aims to demonstrate how an understanding of them is integral to understanding the operation and growth of the women's missionary movement. The following chapter establishes the historical context for the thesis by outlining the history of mission in China and the histories of the missionary societies case studied in this thesis.

Chapter One: The Arrival of British Missionaries in Hong Kong and China

European missionaries were not granted free movement through China until 1842 with the conclusion of the First Opium War, but they did have a scattered presence in China prior to this.[1] In the first half of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of missionaries travelled to China. Many of them were engaged in solo endeavours or faith missions, that is, they were not connected to missionary societies.[2] These early missionaries established various medical programs and Chinese language studies for other missionaries and were responsible for some of the first Chinese-English dictionaries.

Large societies like the Anglican Church Missionary Society, the interdenominational London Missionary Society, and the English Baptist Missionary Society were among the first to come to China after 1842.[3] They were followed by the China Inland Mission which was established in 1865 and came to be the largest missionary society operating in China. [4] The China Inland Mission is the subject of the following chapter. Other specialist societies like the Medical Missionary Society and the Bible Tract Society also established bases in China.[5] Much of the early work of the large missionary societies like the Church Missionary Society

[1] The earliest Western missionaries were Franciscans who arrived in China in the thirteenth century; however, their numbers were small. See D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*, 4th edn, Plymouth, UK, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013, p.15.
[2] Faith Missions were a unique category of missionary evangelism that practised frugal Christianity. Popular in the second half of the nineteenth century. Faith missions were often in areas of the world with a sparse Western presence. As it was only the port cities along the east coast of China that had a substantial Western presence the inland was particularly attractive to faith missions and the CIM. See Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, pp.192-194.
[3] Tristam Hunt, *Ten Cities that made an Empire*, London, UK, Penguin Group, 2014, p.248.
[4] Sarah Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, 2010, p.68.
[5] However, missions were not always associated with proselytization, that is, the intention to inspire converts to Christianity. Historian Hilary Carey argues that the earliest understanding of mission was bureaucratic. It involved sending someone to establish a Christian church not to recruit and convert new members of the church but rather to administer to those who were already residing in the area. Hilary Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.75.

and the London Missionary Society started not overseas but amongst Britain's poor with a focus on large urban centres.[6] The nature and understanding of missions changed during the evangelical revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when there was a rising emphasis on conversion.[7] This change was also fuelled by the industrial revolution and the imperial expansion of Britain.[8] Eventually, foreign missions developed a central focus on the 'rescue' of colonial subjects, a mission that was steeped in ideas of Christianity as a civilising influence.

The historiography of missions in China is well-established. Much of the literature examines the relationship between missions and British imperialism, notably in the work of historians like Carey, Andrew Porter, and Steven Maughan. As a result, the history of missions in China is often contained under wider questions of British imperial expansion in the modern era.[9] Jane Hunter's *Gospel of Gentility* similarly surveys the development of an American Protestant women's missionary movement in China and its role in American imperialism.[10] This chapter draws on these histories of missions into China so as to provide the historical background and context for the chapters that follow. It highlights the unique position of missionaries in history that is, sometimes, buried or lost in larger histories that are more general in character.

The chapter begins with an account of the early history of missions in China, before the Opium Wars, and how this helped to establish a missionary presence in China. The Canton

[6] Delia Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1992, p.260
[7] Carey, *God's Empire*, p.75.
[8] Patricia Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life, and the Family' in Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire: The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p.263.
[9] Porter, *Religion versus Empire*; Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*, Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014 and Carey, *God's Empire,* 2011.
[10]Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1984.

System of trade in China meant that foreign interests and missionaries had to negotiate entry into China prior to the First Opium War. This contributed to the British desire for their own trading port in Asia, and their eventual occupation of Hong Kong as a Crown Colony in 1842. The British claim on Hong Kong allowed for the expansion of missionary activity in China and I track this process focusing largely on the British Protestant missionary societies operating in China which form the central focus of my thesis. I consider British missionary societies alongside American organisations based in China such as the American Baptist Missionary Society. I also look briefly at the humanitarian societies that interacted with the missionary societies, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the start of the twentieth century.

Missions in China and Hong Kong at the time of the First and Second Opium Wars

To gain entrance to China the early missionaries had to negotiate their way through the Canton System which was not favourable to foreigners. From 1700 to 1842, the Canton Trade System dominated European-China relations. During this time the British used the Portuguese port of Macao for their trade and economic operations in China and negotiated access to China through the port of Canton (Guangzhou). China was an imperial power on a scale comparable to any Western empire.[11] The restrictive Canton System was implemented in 1787 when Canton was declared the only legal port for foreign trade. Within this system, direct communication with the Chinese government was not permitted. All communication was vetted through the port authorities known as the 'Hoppos', who were charged with maintaining a tight control of the trade coming into and out of the port.[12]

[11] Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West*, pp.5-6.
[12] Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West*, p.7; Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2007, p.6.

During the time of the Canton System, missionaries were based mostly in the port cities where foreigners were permitted to reside, or in isolated areas of China that were already populated by migrant communities such as Manchuria in China's north east. The Christian community in this region was comprised mostly of Chinese Catholics, presumably converted by Jesuits, who had migrated from other parts of China throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[13] Even after missionaries were given expanded access to China, their presence was restricted to small pockets of Western influence and control, mostly within treaty port cities and mission compounds.

Catholic missionaries, specifically the Jesuits, dominated the mission field in China between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, concentrated their work with the literati of Chinese society who were helpful in granting them access to China.[14] Among the earliest missionaries was Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci credited with establishing a Christian leadership in China as early as the seventeenth century.[15] Ricci arrived in Portuguese Macao in 1582. Among Ricci's most significant work was a Portuguese-Chinese dictionary that helped future missionaries learn the Chinese language. In 1601 Ricci was invited to become an imperial advisor, becoming the first foreigner to be granted entrance to the Forbidden City in Beijing.[16]

The first British protestant missionaries to arrive in China, Dr Robert Morrison and Rev. William Milne, were sent out in 1807 by the London Missionary Society. They were responsible for foundational work that allowed for the proliferation of missionary endeavours

[13] Ji Li, *God's Little Daughters: Catholic Women in Nineteenth Century Manchuria*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2015, pp.4-7.
[14] Other Catholic groups in China in the period include the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, The Society for Foreign Missions of Paris and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith among others. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West,* pp.15-16.
[15] Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Two Volumes*, Vol.1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.16.
[16] Fontana, *Matteo Ricci,* pp.8-10.

in China. Morrison's work culminated in the first English dictionary of the Chinese language and a Chinese translation of the Bible.[17] He died in Canton in 1834. The Morrison Educational Society and the Medical Missionary Society were established as the legacy of the two men. The Morrison Educational Society, established in 1835, aimed to educate young Chinese boys in the English language and Christianity. The Medical Missionary Society, established in 1838, endeavoured to provide the Chinese people with access to Western medicine as well as Christian evangelism.[18] Both societies would become central to the overseas missionary community in Hong Kong in the aftermath of the Opium Wars.[19] For the first half of the nineteenth century mission had been defined by compromise and negotiation, a characterisation that would become fundamental to the movement in China.

At the start of the nineteenth century, British merchants began to increase the trade in opium, one of the few commodities for which they found a ready market in China. The Qing Empire had been attempting to outlaw the smoking of opium and consequently, the drug had been banned since 1729.[20] By the late 1820s, the opium trade was flourishing to the point where it had 'altered the balance of trade in Canton' in favour of the British.[21] The first Opium war broke out in 1839 after repeated attempts by Chinese authorities to stop Britain's illegal opium trade in China.[22] According to historian Julia Lovell, despite the long and short term causes of the Opium War, fighting broke out because, 'the British wanted everything in China

[17] Patricia Lim, *Forgotten Souls: A Social History of the Hong Kong Cemetery*, Hong Kong, HK, Hong Kong University Press, 2011, p.214.
[18] Lim, *Forgotten Souls*, pp.214-5.
[19]Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, 1984 and Dan Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development During the 1920s*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, 1998.
[20] Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of Chin*a, Syd., Australia, Picador, 2011, p.24.
[21] Song-Chuan Chen, *Merchants of War and Peace: British Knowledge of China in the Making of the Opium War*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017, p.14
[22] June Grasso, Jay Corrin, and Michael Kort, *Moderization and Revolutions in China: From the Opium Wars to World Power*, 3rd edn., Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2004, pp.37-38.

to be exactly as they liked. While the Qing state, not surprisingly, disagreed.'[23] Right from the start of the conflict ideas of imperialism and British power were at play.

The Treaty of Nanjing, signed in 1842, brought the First Opium War (1839-1842) to a formal conclusion. It was this first treaty that ceded Hong Kong to the British, making it a colony of the British Empire. It facilitated the influx of missionaries into China and Hong Kong with the opening of five treaty ports; Shanghai, Canton (Guangzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo), Fuchow (Fuzhou) and Amoy (Xiamen). The treaty also granted Westerners extra-territoriality within these ports, meaning that within the ports they were subject to English rather than Chinese law.[24] In the aftermath of the war, and barely a few months into the establishment of the British colony of Hong Kong, three missionary societies established bases in Hong Kong: the London Missionary Society, the American Episcopal Church and the Baptist Missionary Society.[25] Previously there were only individual missionaries present in China. The establishment of formal missionary bases gave these societies a chance to proselytise in China on a large scale.[26]

In 1856 the second Opium War broke out after British officials demanded access to Canton and were refused by the Chinese officials.[27] In 1858 the Treaty of Tianjin was signed, opening up more treaty ports and legalising the opium trade.[28] This legalisation of the opium trade would later become a point of conflict for British missionaries. The war did not officially

[23] Lovell, The Opium War, p.78.
[24] Richard R. Cook, 'Overcoming Missions Guilt: Robert Morrison, Ling Fa, and the Opium Wars' in Richard R. Cook and David W. Pao (eds) *After Imperialism: Christian Identity in China and The Global Evangelical Movement*, Cambridge, UK, The Lutterworth Press, 2012, p.44.
[25] The Baptist Church would later form the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS).
[26] Hunt, *Ten Cities that made an Empire*, p.248.
[27] J. Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War (1856-1860) in China*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp.3-5.
[28] Robert Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, p.4.

end until 1860.[29] While missionaries were not directly affected by the war the treaties did not provide them with the protection they thought they would.[30]

Missionaries in Hong Kong were supported by the formal structures of colonialism that existed in Hong Kong due to its status as a British colony. These structures were absent in China. The form of colonial governance introduced in Hong Kong was of a different nature than other colonies of the British Empire. Initially, Hong Kong was acquired by the British to evade the strict trading regulations of the Qing Empire. Indeed, for many years, British officials believed that there was no use in promoting Hong Kong as a place in which British citizens should settle, viewing it merely as a trading outpost. [31] This changed after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 when British colonists began to settle in the port city in greater numbers due to the easier access the canal gave.[32] Missionaries formed a distinct group of British colonists in Hong Kong and used the port city as a base from which to engage in missionary work on the mainland. The restricted protections and freedoms that the treaties provided missionaries in mainland China, resulted in missionaries adopting strategies of compromise and negotiation with Chinese authorities, though this should not be taken to mean that the missionaries were not without power.

The Expansion of Missionary Societies in the aftermath of the First Opium War

By the late nineteenth century numerous missionary societies had been established in China.[33] The following section provides a short history of the larger societies that are the focus of this

[29] Wong, *Deadly Dreams*, p.1.
[30] For a more detailed account of both Opium Wars see John Brown, 'The Opium Wars', *Military History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2004, pp.34-42; Lovell, *The Opium War* and Leslie Marchant, 'The Wars of the Poppies', *History Today*, Vol. 52, No. 5, 2002, pp.42-9.
[31] John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007, p.12.
[32] Hunt, *Ten Cities that Made an Empire*, p.394.
[33] For a full list of early missionary arrivals see Appendix 1.

thesis. A more detailed history of women's participation in these organisations will be explored in chapters two and three.

The Baptist Missionary Society

The Baptist Missionary Society is the oldest society explored in this thesis. The society was founded in England in 1792 and would become famous for its mission work and anti-slavery campaigning in Jamaica after 1814.[34] The Baptist Missionary Society, sometimes referred to as the Baptist Church, was one of the first societies in China following the Treaty of Nanjing. It was first established through the American Baptist Missionary Society mission in Hong Kong in 1843 – though the English equivalent donated £500 to this venture.[35] The first missionary project pursued by the society on mainland China was to establish a mission base. The project was, however, deemed unsuccessful with the society decommissioning it in 1854-55. While some Baptists stayed on in China independently, it was not until 1859 that the society officially commenced a mission to China following a call from the Congregationalists for British Protestant churches to heed the missionary call in China.[36] The society slowly spread out along the east coast of China building a missionary presence. While there is a substantial archive and history for the Baptist Missionary Society, records that supported the major themes of this research are sparse. Therefore, it plays only a minor role in this thesis.

The Church Missionary Society

The Church Missionary Society was established in 1799 by the Church of England. The society's first missionaries arrived in Hong Kong just after the First Opium War. One of the first acts of the society was the establishment of St John's Cathedral in 1849. This cathedral

[34] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867,* Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp.86-87.
[35] Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992,* Edinburgh, Scotland, T&T Clark, 1992, pp.175-177.
[36] Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, p.177.

became a centre of the overseas Protestant community in Hong Kong. The Church Missionary Society, with its Anglican affiliation, has long been associated with empire.[37] Steven Maughan in *Mighty England Do Good* examines in detail this association and how it influenced its missionary practice. [38]

London Missionary Society

The London Missionary Society consisted of Protestants that existed outside of the established church and included the new Methodist churches and the older Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers as well as various other smaller churches.[39] Like other non-conformists the society was committed to social and political reforms such as education and social welfare, they were also heavily involved in temperance movements.[40] Despite their minority position amongst British evangelicals they were some of the most active Christian missionaries.[41] The various groups had met in London and merged to form a missionary society in a bid to pool their resources so that they could send missionaries into the mission field.[42] The nondenominational society became known as the London Missionary Society in 1818. Over time the society became almost exclusively Congregationalist. An early missionary after the First Opium War was Reverend James Legge who arrived in Hong Kong in 1843. Upon his arrival, he established the Union Church in what he called the heart of the Chinese population. He described the attendance at this church in 1844 as 'very encouraging'.[43]

[37] Other missionary societies were implicated in the project of empire. Richard Cook has examined how missionary involvement in the Treaty of Nanjing forever linked missionaries with foreign imperialism in China. See Cook, 'Overcoming Missions Guilt', pp.35-45.
[38] Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, pp.35-39.
[39] Carey, *God's Empire*, p.177.
[40] Carey, *God's Empire*, p.178.
[41] Carey, *God's Empire*, pp.177-8.
[42] Lim, *Forgotten Souls*, p.214.
[43] Hunt, *Ten Cities that made an Empire*, p.249.

American Missionary Societies

Like the British Protestants, American missionaries were in China soon after the opening of the treaty ports to foreigners. The largest, and also among the earliest, mission to concentrate on foreign mission field from America was the Boston based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was initially a conglomeration of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, though this alliance would eventually fall apart.[44] The other active and influential missionary society that came out of the U.S was the American Baptist Missionary Society, which operated similarly to its British counterpart. American missionaries were also in China from the early nineteenth century. They had arrived in Guangdong in the early 1830s and claimed that the local Chinese population was receptive to their evangelism.[45]

Women's Societies

In addition to the patriarchal missionary societies, women-led societies also engaged in work in China following the First Opium War. The oldest women's society to send women to China was the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East or the Female Education Society. Founded in 1834, the Female Education Society attracted a large female membership and its members came from all parts of British society. In 1847 the president was the Lady Sophia Leveson-Gower. Lady Hannah Buxton (nee Gurney), the wife of anti-slavery campaigner Sir Thomas Buxton, was another influential committee member.[46] As an independent women's society, it only engaged women missionaries focusing its attention on the 'Eastern world' as Asia was then known. The society was founded with the intention to 'facilitate 'pious and well-educated persons' who could initiate and superintend schools for

[44] Lim, *Forgotten Souls*, p.220.
[45] Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, pp.5-6.
[46] For a full list of the 1847 committee see Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East, *History of the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East*, London, UK, Edward Suter, 1847, p.ii.

girls. The Female Education Society also sought to train and encourage national teachers, hoping through education to reach mothers as well as daughters.'[47] The missionaries that the society engaged were sent to teacher training colleges despite whatever previous training and education they may have possessed. Then, older missionaries were sent to either start or run their own mission school whereas younger missionaries were sent to help missionary wives run the smaller mission schools.[48]

The Female Education Society was connected with Mary Aldersey – a missionary working in China as early as 1844 at the age of 47. Aldersey was from a middle-class non-conformist family. In 1824, she attended Chinese language classes taught by Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to go to China, while he was on furlough in England. In 1837, she travelled to Batavia (Jakarta) where she opened a school for girls.[49] During her time there she adopted Mary Ann Liesk who had been entrusted to her care by the girl's Scottish parents. Following the opening of the treaty ports in 1843, Aldersey moved her girl's school to Ningbo, China. She was also followed to China by two teenage girls, Ati and Kit, who she had converted in Jakarta and who were allegedly running away from 'hostile homes.'[50] Aldersey's school in Ningbo was described by the Female Education Society as 'the first Christian boarding-school for the women of that immense empire [China]'.[51] Aldersey ran the school in Ningbo up until 1861 when she handed its administration over to the Church Missionary Society and retired in

[47] Valerie Griffiths, 'Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2008, p.524.
[48] Griffiths, 'Biblewomen from London to China', pp.524-5.
[49] Jocelyn Murray, 'Aldersey, Mary Ann (1797-1868)' in Gerald H. Anderson (ed.) *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999, p.9.
[50] Valerie Griffiths, *Not Less than Anything: The courageous women who the Christian gospel to China*, Oxford, UK, Monarch Books with Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 2004, p.29
[51] Society for promoting female education in the East, *History of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East*, London, UK, Edward Suter, 1847, p.V.

Adelaide, Australia. She is believed to the first single woman missionary to work in China.[52] Chapter three examines in more detail the careers of single women missionaries like Aldersey.

Humanitarian Societies

By the 1920s missionary societies started to interreact with societies that were part of the burgeoning humanitarian movement. The main humanitarian societies that interacted with the missionary movement were the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.[53] The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was founded in 1909. Its founding was the result of a merger between the Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1823, and the Aborigines Protection Society, founded in 1837. The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene was founded in 1870. This society was a key player in the anti-prostitution debates of the early twentieth century. Chapter six examines in more detail the manner in which these two movements interacted.

Conclusion

The expansion of British Protestant missionaries into China is inextricably linked to the expansion of broader British imperial projects. Early in the nineteenth century, the first Protestant missionaries arrived in China. However, it was not until the unequal treaties, imposed at the end of the Opium Wars, that the missionary presence was bolstered through a series of concessions. The British possession of Hong Kong, the opening up of China through the treaty ports and the end of the restrictions on communication imposed via the Canton system all facilitated the ability of missionary societies to work in China. Most importantly, Hong Kong operated as a base for the administration of missionaries working in mainland China. This early imperial history greatly impacted the characterisation of mission in China by

[52] Murray, 'Aldersey, Mary Ann (1797-1868)', p.9.

forcing it to adopt strategies of negotiation and compromise that were, perhaps, not as prevalent in other mission fields.

Despite the long history of mission in China prior to the late nineteenth century, early on all of the major missionary societies that established a presence and base in China following the Opium Wars had a largely male workforce. Many of these missionaries were accompanied by their missionary wives, these women were a significant minority (missionary wives are discussed further in chapter three). There were individual societies like the Female Education Society who promoted the work of single women missionaries in China, making it possible for women like Mary Aldersey to work in China. However, it was not until later in the nineteenth century that there was a specific call for single women missionaries in China. This call started with the work of the China Inland Mission and its inaugural group of missionaries, The Lammermuir Party, who landed in China in 1866 as the largest party of missionaries to ever arrive in China as discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Two: China Inland Mission and the Lammermuir Party

In 1866, James Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission (CIM) wrote in a letter, 'I would introduce the great work we are called of God to attempt – the evangelization of the interior of China.'[1] The letter was included in the second edition of the *Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, the early journal of the CIM, and summarised the core aim of the mission. Along with expressing his gratitude and thanks for the opportunity to return to China as a missionary, Hudson Taylor named several of the missionaries who were to travel with him in the so-named Lammermuir Party, including his wife, Maria Taylor, and her younger sister along with Maria's friends Mary Bell and Emily Blatchley.[2] Interestingly, the missionaries that he named, in this letter, were all women, an acknowledgement, perhaps, of the large contingent of female missionaries in the party. It could also be considered an early indication of the high value with which Hudson Taylor viewed female missionary work. Just five days after this letter was written the Lammermuir Party departed for China.

The Lammermuir Party, so named for the tea clipper upon which they sailed, was the largest contingent of missionaries to arrive in China in the period after the Second Opium War.[3] Following a tumultuous journey that included two typhoons, they landed in September 1866 and set about establishing the CIM. The party, led by James Hudson Taylor and his wife Maria, consisted of seventeen missionaries, eight of whom were single women, an unprecedented number for China's mission field. They were also accompanied by Mary Bausum, the step-sister of Maria who was on her way to visit family in China, presumably her mother Jemima

[1] James Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 2', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1,1866, p.3.
[2] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 2', p.3.
[3] Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, 2nd edn, Grand Rapids, MI, Zondervan, 2004, p.193.

Lord who was already in China completing work on behalf of the CIM.[4] The Hudson Taylors' four eldest children Grace, Herbert, Frederick, and Samuel were also on board.[5] Of the eight single women missionaries who arrived in 1866, only one remained unmarried. Although this party of missionaries were the largest they were not the first CIM missionaries to go to China. Between 1854 and 1866, the CIM had sent ten missionaries to China, including multiple trips made by the Taylors themselves. Prior to the Lammermuir Party, there had been no large-scale missionary contingents. Missionary arrivals were staggered, reflecting the difficulty missionaries had gaining access to China and its interior as discussed in the previous chapter. The large number of single women in the party pre-empted the focused recruitment of single women missionaries in the 1870s by the CIM and other missionary societies, examined in chapter three.

Despite the importance of the Lammermuir Party there is very little written about them within missionary historiography. In 1915, Marshall Broomhall, the editorial secretary of the CIM, emphasised the significance of the group in terms of missionary activity in China: 'In the face of much criticism and of many difficulties the C.I.M. was privileged not only to open many of the earliest stations in the interior of China but also to send the first women workers to nine of the inland provinces.'[6] For Broomhall, the contribution of women to the early work of the mission was a source of pride. He dedicated an entire chapter to them titled 'pioneers in women's work'.[7] Geraldine Guinness in her history of the society published in 1900 also included a focus on the work of women missionaries in the establishment of the CIM.[8]

[4] Dorothy Lord Bausum Evans, *He Led All the Way*, Maitland, FL, Xulon Press, 2007, p.38
[5] Of these four children, only Herbert and Frederick would survive to adulthood. Grace died in 1867 from meningitis and Samuel Taylor died three years later in 1870 from tuberculosis.
[6] Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1915, p.123.
[7] Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, pp.122-132.
[8] Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, Morgan and Scott, 1900.

Historian Alvyn Austin details the role the Lammermuir Party played in the development of the CIM in his history of the organisation, *China's Millions*.[9] More attention is given to the Lammermuir Party in ecclesiastical and amateur histories. The Lammermuir party feature in missionary Valerie Griffiths' book *Not Less than Anything* which chronicles the lives of twenty missionary women.[10] There are several blog posts that document the women of the party as models of Christianity as well as those written by people tracing their family histories.[11] James Knill's family history of Lammermuir missionaries Mary Bell and her sister Annie Bell, who followed her to China later, provides access to many of the letters written by the missionaries as well as useful biographical details.[12] None of these examples look at the Lammermuir Party in the context of the burgeoning single women's missionary movement.

In this chapter, I examine how the Lammermuir Party was a catalyst for the expansion of single women missionaries in China. Through this party of missionaries, it is possible to glean an insight into the lives of the first single women missionaries in China. It is also possible to extrapolate on the significance of single women missionaries to the early success of missions, a significance that was essential to their later dominance of the missionary movement, as is explored later in this thesis.

This chapter first looks at the history of the CIM in the lead up to the Lammermuir Party and the early days of the Lammermuir Party in China. I highlight the networks and contacts that missionaries relied upon to evangelise and recruit, as well as illuminating the harsh realities of missionary life for married and single women. Included in this discussion are

[9] Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*, Michigan, US, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007.
[10] Valerie Griffiths, *Not Less than Everything: The courageous women who carried the Christian gospel to China*, Oxford, UK, Monarch Books with Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 2004.
[11] See for example Sara McCaslin, 'Emily Blatchley & the Lammermuir Party', *Forgotten Sheep*, November 4 2016, http://www.forgottensheep.net/blog/emily-blatchely-the-lammermuir-party#comments, Accessed March 22 2019.
[12] James L. Knill, *Mary and Annie Bell: Unsung Pioneers of the China Inland Mission*, James L. Knill, 2017.

short biographies of four women who were singled out by later biographers as important to the party; Emily Blatchley, Jennie Faulding, Louise Desgraz, and Maria Taylor. The chapter then examines the strategies the missionary women used to facilitate interactions with Chinese women, for example adopting Chinese dress. I consider the impact that missionary practices of adoption and indenture had on their evangelical work. The chapter concludes with an examination of the Shansi (Shanxi) famine relief campaign. This examination highlights a central theme of the thesis, the compromise and negotiation that characterised mission in China, particularly in the late nineteenth century.

The main sources for this chapter are letters written by the women, many of which feature in the two official histories of the CIM written by Guinness and Broomhall. I also draw on letters published in the journals of the CIM, the *Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission* and *China's Millions* as well as several articles written by Jennie Taylor which appeared in the journal. The early missionaries of the CIM were prolific writers, however, much of their original writing has since been censored. According to Austin, it was Hudson Taylor's wish that nothing detrimental or potentially embarrassing be written about the society.[13] Geraldine Guinness, Hudson Taylor's daughter-in-law, whose work informs much of the early history of the CIM, played a central role in the purging of letters considered inappropriate. Austin recounted one instance where Guinness covered up Hudson Taylor's expressions of affection towards his wife by pasting strips of paper on the front and back of the letter.[14] This censorship and the focus on devotional material leave the archive severely depleted which potentially explains the imbalance in the historiography identified previously. Nonetheless, the archive offers compelling glimpses of the lives of CIM women.

[13] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.16.
[14] Austin, *China's Millions*, pp.16-17.

James Hudson Taylor and the Lammermuir Party

The CIM, was founded by James Hudson Taylor in 1865 as a faith mission. Hudson Taylor was motivated to establish the CIM after a number of failed attempts to work with existing societies, such as the Chinese Evangelisation Society. As mentioned the previous chapter faith missions practised a frugal Christianity and were attracted to isolate areas like the interior of China. The CIM was an interdenominational faith mission that would evolve into the second largest British missionary endeavour in existence. Its format and structure were imitated by other missionary societies.[15] What separated the society from other missionary models of the time was its mode of operating. Hudson Taylor claimed that he sought to 'Christianise not Westernise', that is to bring religion but not necessarily a Western way of living to the Chinese people; a feat historian Sarah Paddle describes as an 'impossible but seductive fantasy'.[16]

As the CIM had already sent a number of missionaries to China prior to the Lammermuir Party, they had already established a small presence there. This presence was started by the establishment of a small mission in the treaty port of Ningbo in 1862, a project started by Hudson Taylor until poor health forced him to move back to England. The project was eventually overseen by Joseph Meadows and his wife.[17] The Meadows sailed for China in 1862, and according to Broomhall laid the foundation for all the missionaries who followed. Hudson Taylor's desire to return to China only increased the longer he stayed in England. He wrote in 1865 while in Brighton, that he was 'unable to bear the sight of a congregation of a thousand or more Christian people rejoicing in their own security, while millions were

[15] Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, p.194.
[16] Sarah Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early-Twentieth Century China', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, 2010, p.69.
[17] Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, p.22.

perishing for lack of knowledge'.[18] With his wife Maria, he wrote and published a series of articles called *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims*, as part of a concerted effort to find volunteers to embark on a mission to China. The original edition of the book was published in 1865, with subsequent editions published later. This constant concern with China demonstrated the Taylors' deep connection to what they felt called to do, a key component of the missionary experience, as is discussed in the following chapter.

In the sixth edition of *China's Spiritual Needs* published in 1884, Hudson Taylor recounted the story of Mrs Lord, presumably Jemima Lord, mother of Mary Bausum, Maria Taylor's younger step-sister, a Baptist missionary working in China in the 1850s, who established 'an orphan school' in Cheh-kiang (Chekiang). According to Hudson Taylor, Lord wrote home in 1864 stating that if 'she had five bible-women, she could give to each of them districts which would find them ample employment'.[19] For Lord, this was proof of the increasing opportunities for women missionaries in China. To Hudson Taylor, it was proof that Christianity was wanted and needed in China. He further illustrated this point in a story about the apparently easy conversion, as the result of powerful preaching, of a Buddhist abbess and neophyte.[20] Armed with a belief in the receptivity of Chinese people to the Christian faith, and Lord's belief in the necessity of women, Hudson Taylor and Maria, set sail from the East India Docks in London with the Lammermuir Party on the 26 May 1866.

The Lammermuir Party's large number of missionary women represented a turning point for the women's missionary movement. The full Lammermuir Party consisted of James Hudson Taylor, Maria Taylor, Lewis Nicol, Eliza Nicol, George Duncan, Josiah Jackson, William Rudland, John Snell, James Williamson, Susan Barnes, Emily Blatchley, Mary Bell,

[18] James Hudson Taylor, qtd in Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1915, p.25.
[19] James Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1884, p.56.
[20] Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims*, p.56.

Mary Bowyer, Louise Desgraz, Jane 'Jennie' Faulding, Jane McLean, Elisabeth Rose and the four Taylor children; Grace, Herbert, Frederick, and Samuel. Of this group, Faulding and Bell were the youngest at just twenty-two and Desgraz was the oldest of the single women at thirty-three. Of the women in the party, only Maria Taylor and Eliza Nicol were married, the rest were single. All of the women participated in missionary work once they arrived in China. However, there were just a few whose work was singled out by future biographers.

Arguably the most influential woman in the party was Hudson's wife, Maria Jane Taylor (nee Dyer). Maria Dyer was born in 1837 in Malacca, Malaysia, then part of the British Straits Settlements. Her parents, Reverend Samuel Dyer and Maria (nee Tarn), were both missionaries with the London Missionary Society (LMS). Maria Tarn, whose father was the Director of LMS, was part of a small group of women who undertook to study the Chinese language. Both Maria Tarn and Samuel Dyer were missionary students of Dr Robert Morrison, who was among the first Protestant missionaries to go to China.[21] Samuel Dyer went on to develop the first movable steel typeface in Chinese characters.[22] Maria Dyer's early life was spent in Malaysia and Malacca until her mother's death in Penang in 1846, after which she was sent to England be raised by her uncle, despite having never previously lived in England. Her father had died three years previously in Macau leaving Maria an orphan before the age of ten. She left England for China at the age of sixteen with her sister, Burella, to work and live in the girls' school run by Mary Aldersey in Ningbo. During her time in Ningbo, Aldersey was Maria's appointed guardian. It was in Ningbo that she met Hudson Taylor whom she married in 1858, despite opposition from Aldersey.

[21] Griffiths, *Not Less than Everything*, , pp.12-13.
[22] Lindsay Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 1996, p.240.

Figure 1 Maria and James Hudson Taylor. From Mary Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, Morgan and Scott, 1893.

Maria and Hudson Taylor returned to England in the Autumn of 1860. She was in poor health having contracted typhoid on her honeymoon. On their return voyage they travelled with their fifteen-month-old child 'Gracie', with Maria due to give birth again. It was Hudson Taylor's ill health that kept them in London for longer than expected. The Taylors did not return to China until 1866 when they accompanied the Lammermuir Party. Maria died in China four years later on July 23, 1870, from cholera, having given birth to her youngest son, the last

of her nine live births, who died thirteen days later.[23] Broomhall recounts the story of her final letter to her friend, Mary Rudland (nee Bell) who had recently lost a child.[24] She wrote, 'I cannot write much; but I send a line to tell you that our hearts grieve and our eyes weep with you… Accept much love and sympathy from us to you both'.[25] The letter which was written while Maria was dying, was an attempt to comfort Rudland after the loss of her child. Broomhall cited this letter 'as a revelation of her character' as well as an attempt to comfort others who may have been in the same position.[26] The importance of Maria to the early CIM is evident in the amount of personal information included in early official histories, despite the relatively small written archive that she left. It is clear that early CIM missionaries saw Maria's life and example as one that should be followed by all CIM missionaries.

While Maria might well be considered the most prominent of the CIM women, a number of other women served in leadership roles. Emily Blatchley was born in Barnsley in 1842. Unlike many missionaries, who were from middle-class Christian families, she came from what Austin describes as a working class, non-Christian family.[27] Presumably, this meant the family were not members of a formal church. However, Blatchley's parents were supportive of her decision to go to China as a missionary. Blatchley, herself, was a member of the Regent's Park Chapel, a Baptist church, in Hudson Taylor's circle.[28] It was here that the two met in the years leading up to the departure of the Lammermuir Party. Blatchley is pictured in the photograph below (figure 2), standing in the middle of the back row. One way that funds were raised for the trip was through the sale of official photographs of the party such as this one; a

[23] James Hudson Taylor, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.413.
[24] This letter was one of the final pieces of correspondence sent by Maria Taylor before her death.
[25] Maria Taylor qtd in Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1915, p.70.
[26] Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, p.70.
[27] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.101.
[28] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.101.

group photo for one shilling, or alternatively an individual portrait of a party member for sixpence.[29]

Blatchley, aged twenty-four, was one of the youngest missionaries to sail with the group and was the only single woman missionary from that party to not marry. She became a close friend of Maria's helping her with her evangelisation as well as with looking after her children. Blatchley returned to London in early 1870 accompanied by three of the Taylor children. She did not return to China. When Hudson Taylor returned to England in 1871 following Maria's death to appoint a new home committee, Blatchley became a lead administrator for the mission. Before she could take on further leadership roles however, Blatchley contracted tuberculosis, dying in 1874.

Figure 2. The Lammermuir Party. **Standing, from left to right:** Jane MacLean, Susan Barnes, James Williamson, Emily Blatchley, George Duncan, Louise Desgraz, John Robert Sell, Mary Elizabeth Bausam. **Sitting, from left to right:** Elizabeth Rose, William David Rudland, Lewis Nichol, Eliza Nichol, Jane Elizabeth Faulding, James Hudson Taylor, Maria Jane Taylor, the four Taylor children (Grace Dyer kneeling, Herbert Hudson, Frederick Howard, and Samuel Dyer seated on Mary Bell's lap), Mary Bell,

Mary Bowyer, Josiah Alexander Jackson. From Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, Morgan and Scott, 1915.

Another woman who is singled out by biographers is Jennie 'Jane' Faulding, Hudson Taylor's second wife, featured seating at the left-hand side of Hudson Taylor in figure 2.[30] Faulding was born in 1843 in London. Her father was a piano manufacturer. According to Austin, even though her father supported the work of Hudson Taylor he was initially against his daughter joining the man's prayer group. Jennie first met Hudson Taylor when she was nine years old, through the Regent's Park chapel where he met Blatchley.[31] Faulding became Hudson Taylor's second wife in 1871 at the age of twenty-eight. She retired from missionary work in 1900 and died in Switzerland in 1904, a year before Hudson Taylor.

Louise Desgraz (second from the right in the back row of figure 2), born in Switzerland in 1833, was the oldest single woman missionary in the group and played a significant role in the mission. Desgraz was a governess to William Collingwood and his family. Collingwood had originally applied to be a missionary artist with Gutzlaff but withdrew his application in order to marry.[32] He met Hudson Taylor in 1853 and was a donor to the CIM. It is likely through this connection that Desgraz met Hudson Taylor. Desgraz married fellow missionary Edward Tomalin in 1883. During her time in China, she established and ran a number of schools and orphanages. She was also known to have adopted some Chinese children. She died in China in 1909.[33]

A common element to the stories of these women is the involvement of personal networks in their recruitment as missionaries. Blatchley, Faulding and Desgraz all personally knew Hudson Taylor prior to their recruitment. In the case of Blatchley and Faulding they were

[30] To avoid confusion with Hudson Taylor's first wife, this thesis refers to Jennie Faulding by her maiden name.
[31] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.101.
[32] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.212.
[33] Austin, *China's Millions*, p.110.

members of the same congregation. The missionary movement relied upon these formal and informal networks to recruit their missionaries. The early life of Maria Taylor demonstrated the strong familial connections within the movement, with both her parents being missionaries before her. Her acquaintance and stay with Aldersey in China further demonstrates the centrality and dependence of missionary networks. The fact that contemporary biographers have singled these women out to highlight in their histories of the CIM demonstrates the prominence of women in the Lammermuir Party.

Women's Work in China and Chinese Distrust

The Lammermuir Party arrived in Shanghai on 30 September 1866. Blatchley's letters are filled with extraordinary detail not only about her time and work in China but also the voyage the party undertook to get there.[34] She revealed that at one stage their arrival was not assured, 'Some of the sailors, however, were beginning to relinquish all hope of reaching land.'[35] She also recounted other incidents like having to break the Sabbath to help repair damage to the ship done during the storms.[36] It is also through Blatchley that the early days of the Lammermuir Party are recounted and recorded. This record keeping further highlights the prominence of women in the Lammermuir Party.

Initially, the mission struggled to establish a base in China. When other missionaries went to establish new bases in China they arrived with funds. As a faith mission, the CIM did not have the resources to do this and instead trusted that their resources would be taken care of by God. Upon arrival in China, the Lammermuir Party stayed with a series of missionary contacts, highlighting the close networks that missionaries formed while in China, as they made

[34] Emily Blatchley, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.275.
[35] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.278.
[36] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.281.

their way to Hang-chau (Hangzhou) in Zhejiang Province (eastern China). They struggled to acquire a base of their own. According to Guinness the difficulty stemmed from the fact that the party was so large.[37] By Christmas of 1866 a property had been obtained by Hudson Taylor, Blatchley gave this description:

> The house we have obtained is so exactly suited to our requirements that we feel specially grateful to God for enabling us to procure it. We have it cheaply, and it is very large having evidently been before the time of the rebellion the mansion of some wealthy family of Mandarins.[38]

At the start of their tenancy, the party had to share this accommodation with other Chinese families. A situation that initially was seen to be a nuisance but was later reflected on as 'bearing some fruit' as it provided them with some of their earliest converts.[39]

Blatchley's letters detailed the early activities of the missionaries in the city. She revealed that Hudson Taylor wished them 'remain… as quietly and as little seen as possible, the study of language affording quite sufficient occupation.'[40] She continued on to comment that by the time any of the missionaries were ready for direct missionary work the people of Hangzhou would be aware of the fact that there was a large party of foreigners in the city 'and no disturbance or mischief having resulted therefrom, we hope to get among the people with less difficulty, and excite less suspicion than might otherwise have been the case.'[41]

One of the earliest initiatives of women's work that the Lammermuir Party undertook was a women's bible class in Hang-chau. This class was described in a letter written by Maria Taylor in May 1867, where she explained that the class was started because the women 'grew

[37] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, Vol. 1, pp.293-294.
[38] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.298.
[39] Maria Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1867, p.8.
[40] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.297.
[41] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.297.

weary' on Sunday and had 'nothing to occupy their hands.'[42] By the time Taylor wrote her letter there were six women in the class, one of whom she described as an 'earnest' Christian who was a member of the Church Missionary Society church. Another woman in the group was living in the same house as the party when they first arrived in Hangzhou, and according to Taylor, she was, through Faulding, an early acquaintance of the group.[43] Taylor named two of the Chinese women who attended the women's class. The first woman was called Ah-lo-sao, and the second woman was referred to as 'Lydia', though this was not her actual name. Taylor gave no further details of the class attendees.[44]

Another early initiative undertaken by the group was the establishment of a small school. In June 1867, Hudson Taylor wrote that the group had been successful in attaining a small house next to the mission house, at the price of $280 for eight years, for the purposes of schools for boys and girls.[45] The school, for boys, was opened in September 1867 and had 'nine boarders, and as many day-scholars', followed shortly by the opening of a girls' school.[46] In October 1867, Hudson Taylor reflected on the importance of Christian school education, 'The superiority in every respect of those converts who have been educated in any of the Mission Schools, over those who are not, is most marked, and indicates the importance of this section of Mission work.'[47]

In Hang-chau, Faulding started another school for the local Chinese children that was separate from the mission compound. Tsiu Kyuo-kwe, a Chinese missionary with the society reported the progress of the school writing, 'Miss Faulding, by her own desire, was alone

[42] Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, p.7.
[43] Taylor,' Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, p.8.
[44] Taylor,' Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, pp.7-8.
[45] James Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1867, pp.10-11.
[46] James Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1867, p.130.
[47] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', Vol. 1, p.130.

responsible' for the school, which taught around thirty children, both male and female, during the four years she was in Hang-chau.[48] He quoted Faulding as saying, 'The children are all so pleased to be here; they look upon this more in the light of a happy home than a school, and I like it to be so.'[49] Tsiu Kyou-kwe paints a picture of her as being independent and resourceful, as well as dedicated to her school project. That educating children was at the heart of their missionary endeavour, particularly for women missionaries. Faulding was the first woman missionary to establish a school in Hang-chau. Again, this highlights that women were not just supporting men in their work but used their own initiative to establish their own projects.

In June 1867, Maria Taylor lamented, 'There is a large opening for female agency…had we the *right* workers and suitable accommodation, I believe that *twenty sisters* could easily find work in Hang-chow to-morrow.'[50] This priority was perhaps behind the decision to actively recruit more women missionaries. Taylor's belief in the necessity of women's work was also shared by others in the society and backed by her husband. In October 1867, he wrote, 'In many houses and in every direction have our sister's free access to the women in their own homes' and that these 'efforts are limited only by the number of labourers.'[51] He concluded, 'There is every reason to believe that female labour – the 'missing link,' as it has been called at home – will prove to be no less indispensable and no less successful here.'[52]

While the large number of women within the mission field allowed the missionaries greater access to evangelise to Chinese women, cultural adaptation was another factor that contributed greatly to their capacity to proselytize. It was the policy of the CIM that their missionaries adopt the language and dress of the Chinese people among whom they would be

[48] Tsiu Kyuo-kwe, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, pp.444-445.
[49] Jennie Faulding, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.446.
[50] Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, p12.
[51] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', Vol. 1, p.131.
[52] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', Vol. 1, p.131.

living and working. Hudson Taylor wrote, 'one of the principal objections which the Chinese have to Christianity arises from its being esteemed a foreign religion. Why, then, not remove as far as possible its foreign surroundings?'[53] According to him, the society sought to meet the Chinese 'in costume, in language, in manners,' something that was not only 'advantageous' but also 'indispensable.' Male missionaries were even encouraged to grow a queue, the long plait worn by Chinese men since the seventeenth-century Manchurian conquest.[54] He also saw this policy as responsible for the success of female evangelisation, 'no female in foreign dress could visit here as our sisters do in native costume.'[55] This attitude may have been fuelled by Hudson Taylor's earlier experience in China before the Opium wars when mission was characterised by compromise and negotiation.

Not all missionaries were convinced of the propriety of women wearing Chinese dress. Maria Taylor, Hudson Taylor's first wife, was initially hesitant, writing in 1867:

> I had some misgivings before leaving England about ladies wearing the Chinese dress, on this ground – that the Chinese despise their own women while they respect foreign ladies. Would they treat us with the same deference, and should we have as much weight with them, were we to change our dress?[56]

She believed that if missionaries were treated with less respect, they would not be able to evangelise properly, and presumed that respect would be granted if they were viewed as Westerners. Ultimately, Maria changed her mind about the dress policy, writing that it gave them 'a decided advantage', recognizing that Chinese people were apprehensive of foreigners. She argued that, in the interior of China, foreign dress 'commanded fear,' something that the

[53] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', Vol. 1, pp.134-135.
[54] Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet', p.69.
[55] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 13', Vol. 1, p.134.
[56] Maria Taylor, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.319.

missionaries did not wish to 'inspire.'[57] Instead, she believed the respect that missionaries held came from their 'force of character, education, and Christian principle' that went beyond both forms of dress.[58]

Other missionaries were quick to accept the dress policy. Mrs Henry Cordon, a missionary who came out to China in 1867 with her husband, shortly after the Lammermuir Party, commented in a letter home on how comfortable she found wearing Chinese dress. She wrote, 'I think my dear husband has told you we have put on the Chinese dress. I can assure you I was very glad'.[59] Cordon found the Chinese dress to be very comfortable and warm, and unlike her English clothes suitable to the climate, 'I was nearly starved with cold wearing my English dress; the cold seemed to get through all the shawls and rugs'.[60] Cordon also commented on the ease of interaction with Chinese women that the dress allowed her, saying that in all the houses she visited when she first arrived in China she was kindly received.[61]

Jennie Faulding, Hudson Taylor's second wife, also had no hesitancy about adopting the Chinese style of dress. In a letter she wrote shortly after arriving in Dong-si, a neighbourhood of Hang-chau, she described what she saw as the advantages of the Chinese dress, 'What should we do if we had not on the Chinese dress I cannot imagine, for as it is about a hundred people stand on shore to watch us all day long'.[62] She goes on to proclaim 'we are as much run after as the Queen would be.'[63] For Faulding, this attention was partially responsible for their ability to evangelise, that is, gain the audience of the Chinese population. Geraldine Guinness credits Faulding with some of the party's first converts. She explains that

[57] Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, p.12.
[58] Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 9', Vol. 1, pp.11-12.
[59] Mrs Cordon, 'Occasional Paper No. 12', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1868, p.101.
[60] Cordon, 'Occasional Paper No. 12', Vol. 1, p.101.
[61] Cordon, 'Occasional Paper No. 12', Vol. 1, p.101.
[62] Jennie Faulding, qtd in Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.292.
[63] Faulding, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.292.

when the party moved into their accommodation in Hang-chau there were still several Chinese families living in the property and that these families were the initial focus for the party. The women of these families came under her care and they became the first friends and converts. Guinness marks this as the beginning of the society's work with women.[64]

Faulding similarly believed that adopting the Chinese dress helped to ease any apprehension of foreigners that was held by the people they were working with. In a letter written to her mother in February 1867, she recounted one of her early attempts to evangelise. She was in the house of a woman who came often to the mission house to attend Sunday services, and who had invited some other women and children in to listen to Faulding. According to Faulding, the women and children were fascinated by her and were scanning her 'to see the differences between [her] and themselves' concluding, 'with an air satisfaction, 'Your clothes are like mine.''[65] For Faulding, adopting the Chinese dress was key to bridging the cultural divide between the missionaries and the Chinese people.

The missionaries of the Lammermuir Party often wrote about the cultural divide between themselves and the Chinese people equating it to a fear, or apprehension of foreigners. While some missionaries believed that by adopting the Chinese dress, they could ease this tension, this did not always facilitate the acceptance of the Chinese community. In August 1868, missionaries from the Lammermuir Party found themselves caught up in the Yang-Chau riot. According to Guinness, the riot was started over suspicions of the actions of the Catholics. She wrote that Chinese rumours had confused CIM missionaries with the Catholics, 'who were in strong disfavour amongst the people' being accused of being 'all baby-eaters'.[66] It was claimed that a Chinese man who managed the Jesuit foundling home was diverting funds that

[64] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, pp.297-298.
[65] Jennie Faulding, 'Occasional Paper No. 7', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1. 1867, p.16.
[66] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.363.

had been donated for the care of the children. An official exhumation of several recently buried bodies of children made matters worse, with some missions 'kept in almost a state of siege by the angry mob.'[67]

The Lammermuir missionaries arrived Yang-chau (Yangzhou), a few days after this initial incident had settled down and it appears their arrival triggered a riot. Marshall Broomhall wrote, 'the idea of rejecting the foreign visitors from their city also readily suggested itself'. Broomhall believed that this sentiment arose because of the 'long standing enmity of the *literati* of China.'[68] The literati were among the first to embrace missionaries in China, potentially adding to the conflict. Regardless of the immediate cause of the riot, Lammermuir missionaries were caught up in its violence. Missionary Emily Blatchley described in a letter how she and Maria Taylor were asked for money in exchange for their safety and had to jump from the roof of the house they were staying in to escape the riot.[69] The incident was depicted in Broomhall's 1920 biography of Hudson Taylor which emphasised the martyrdom and apparent selflessness of the missionaries.[70] The book included a dramatic illustration of the rooftop escape described by Blatchley in her letter (figure 3).

[67] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, p.364.
[68] Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, p.56.
[69] Blatchley, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, pp.370-373.
[70] Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor - The Man Who Dared*, Morgan and Scott, London, pp. 53-61

Figure 3 Illustration of Maria Taylor (in the air) and Emily Blatchley (on the ground) during the *Yang-Chau riot*, 1868. From Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor - The Man Who Dared*, London, Morgan and Scott, p. 59.

Afterwards, in a letter to a friend, Taylor said, 'After our lives were safe and we were in shelter, we asked no restitution, we desired no revenge… I generally feel that the best plan is to go on with our work, and leave God to vindicate our cause.'[71] She believed that that apprehension of

[71] Maria Taylor, qtd Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1915, p.60.

foreigners was to be expected but the good work of the missionary movement would speak for itself.

A young widow Mrs Anne Bohannan travelled to China in 1867 with CIM missionaries Charles Judd, his wife Elizabeth (née Broumton), John Edwin Cardwll and his wife, and Edward Fishe, arriving March 1868.[72] The following year, aged twenty-three, she married Edward Fishe in Shanghai.[73] Writing as Mrs Fishe in 1870 she described her work with a number of young Chinese girls in T'ai-chau (Tiazhou). She reported that she had been teaching four young girls and hoped that this was the start of a girls' school in the city. However, one of the young girls stopped coming to her because of 'foolish reports of the people'.[74] According to Fishe, these reports said that she intended to take the young girl away and 'make a slave of her' and that they were a deterrent for many young children in China.[75]

The Chinese apprehension of CIM activities followed the missionaries as they made their way inland. Unlike other missionary societies who started their work in treaty ports and along the coast of China, the CIM went to work directly in the inland of China. Chinese people in the port cities would have been more acquainted with seeing people of foreign nationalities due to the treaty port system that allowed foreign nationals access to the cities. This protection did not extend to the interior of China. While missionaries like Fishe claimed that this fear could be overcome with good will, they failed to acknowledge the ways in which their own behaviour may have exacerbated this fear.

One such behaviour was the use of adoption and indenture as ways of 'rescuing' young children from what they saw as unacceptable conditions. CIM publications contain many

[72] Alfred Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century: Survivor's Pact*, London, UK, Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, p.448.
[73] Marriage Certificate of Edward Fishe and Anne Bohannan, Church of the Holy Trinity, Shanghai, China, 10 April 1869, RG 33/12, Foreign Registers and Returns, 1627-1960, National Archives, UK.
[74] James Hudson Taylor,' Occasional Paper No. 22', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1870, p.420.
[75] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 22', Vol. 1, p.420.

references to missionaries, both male and female, adopting young children. In 1871, Hudson Taylor wrote about his adoption of a young girl in 1869. He gives no other details except to say that the child only lived for six months, having died unexpectedly while Hudson Taylor was away.[76] He also wrote of his fondness of another young girl – he wanted this young girl to stay with him, alluding to another adoption, but the mother refused. However, the mother did agree to come back and visit Hudson Taylor.[77] In all of Hudson Taylor's reports of adoption, he gives almost no detail as to the circumstances of the adoption nor any sense that he recognized that his actions were inappropriate.

One case referred to in more detail in the literature of CIM missionaries is missionary Louise Desgraz's adoption of a young Chinese girl by the name of Ah-Liang. Charles Judd gave some details about the adoption of this child in a letter dated December 14, 1869. According to Judd, the father of the child was a member of the church in Hang-chau and was 'exceedingly poor'.[78] Judd claimed that the father had since died but did not make it clear as to whether he died before or after the adoption. The young child was often reported as being a student in the girls' school that Desgraz established in Yang-chau. The vague nature of the adoption could have led to a degree of suspicion among the local population which led to the trepidation they had in engaging with the missionaries.

The adoption of young children was not a phenomenon unique to the CIM. One of the earliest female Chinese doctors in China was the adopted daughter of an American woman missionary. Dr Ida Kahn, also known as Kang Aide and Kang Cheng, was adopted by Gertrude Howe of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, part of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Howe was commissioned by the society to start a girls' school in the treaty port city of Jiujiang

[76] James Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 26', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 2, 1871, p.101.
[77] Hudson Taylor, 'Occasional Paper No. 26', Vol. 2, p.101.
[78] Charles Judd, 'Occasional Paper 21', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 1, 1870, p.355.

in 1872. According to historian Connie Shemo, Howe was frustrated by 'her lack of access to the girls of Jiujiang and [was] intensely lonely' thus leading to her adoption of Cheng.[79] Desgraz did not report feelings of loneliness in relation to her adoption of Ah-Liang. The child's presence in her school suggests that Desgraz was motivated by finding recruits for her school.

The other method that was employed by missionaries to obtain students was the practice of what was termed indenture. There are two occasions in the first volume of the *Occasional Papers* where school students were referred to as indentured to the school. The first reference was in a letter written by Faulding, reporting the progress of her school, dated September 1869. In the letter, she wrote, 'The boys are 'written' [i.e. indentured] [sic] to me from five to eight years.'[80] She went on to explain that if the boys proved 'refractory of otherwise unsuitable' she was free to 'send them back to their friends.'[81] The second reference was in a letter by Judd, again reporting the progress of a school, in this incident, it was Desgraz's school. Judd wrote that there were five girls at the school, two of whom were indentured.[82] He gave no further details.

The vague nature of the indenture of these students may have exacerbated the mistrust that the local population held towards the missionaries. The sudden appearance of indentured children may also explain situations like the one that Fishe reported. The fear that children were being made slaves or forcibly taken away from their families by the missionaries may have been based on the population's experience with indentured labour. During this period, it

[79] Connie Shemo, '"So Thoroughly American" Gertude Howe, Kang Cheng, and Culturla Imperialism in the Women's Foreign Missionary Soceity, 1872-1931', in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, Duke University Press, 2010, p.117.
[80] Jennie Faulding, 'Occasional Paper No.21', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol.1, p.371, 1870.
[81] Faulding, 'Occasional Paper No.21', Vol. 1, p.371.
[82] Charles Judd, 'Occasional Paper No. 22', *The Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission*, Vol.1, p.393,

was not uncommon for young children, particularly girls, to be bonded to a family as a domestic servant, a custom and practice that would later be contested as I explore in chapter six. This experience combined with the appearance of strangers could explain the apprehension that the population had towards the missionaries, and the missionaries' own behaviour may have exacerbated the concerns of the Chinese people.

The Shansi (Shanxi) Orphanage

A mixture of good intentions and Chinese apprehension is also apparent in accounts of the Shansi famine relief project. The Shansi famine was part of the Northern China famine that occurred during the 1870s. This relief project was a joint effort between the CIM and the Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard and his wife, Mary Martin. The CIM contingent, suggested by Hudson Taylor was led by Faulding, who had been married to Hudson Taylor for seven years at this point. As part of the famine relief work, Faulding established an orphanage in the region.

The orphanage was originally the project of Mary Richard (nee Martin), a United Presbyterian missionary from Scotland though Richard was never able to get the project up. In 1878, Timothy Richard wrote to Hudson Taylor, saying he (Hudson Taylor) could take over the orphanage if he could find a suitable team of women to run the orphanage. Hudson Taylor suggested that Faulding go and run the orphanage. She was initially hesitant to be so far away from her husband and five children. As Guinness wrote, 'One thing was very clear – the care of her children is a mother's first work for God.'[83] While there were new candidates that were

[83] Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 2, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1900, p.302.

sailing from England it was felt that they needed to be led by a woman who had experience in the country as well as a familiarity with the language and culture. Faulding was eventually convinced that she was needed in Shansi.[84] She was accompanied to Shansi by single women missionaries Celia Horne and Anna Crickmay. Their arrival was a significant event, as it was the first time a Christian woman missionary had entered the interior of China. Mary Richard did not arrive in the area until after Faulding and her team.[85]

One of the goals of the orphanage was to provide respite for young girls who were regarded as potential victims of trafficking, a common preoccupation for missionaries in China. In a letter written after her arrival in Shansi in 1878 and published in the 1879 edition of *China's Millions*, Faulding wrote, 'After visiting one or two stations I then went to Gank'ing, as that seemed the best point from which to get children, who we heard were being sold away to all parts of the empire.'[86] Though there were issues with how they were to find these children. Initially, she sent a helper to retrieve two girls, aged eleven and thirteen, who had been sold, however, she concluded that the difficulty and expense of trips like this was not sustainable. At one point it was suggested that they wait for the inevitable refugees of winter.[87] Guinness posited that the lack of children was the result of the famine, 'No babies were to be seen anywhere, nor any little children – a pathetic indication of the awful crisis through which the people had just passed.'[88]

While the famine claiming the lives of children is one explanation for the lack of children that the missionaries were able to 'rescue'. They failed to consider how their own actions may have contributed to a lack of trust in them. In the same way that stories about 'baby

[84] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 2, pp.302-304.
[85] Andrew T. Kaiser, *The Rushing on of the Purposes of God: Christian Missions in Shanxi since 1876*, Eugene, Oregon, Pickwick Publications, 2016, p.18.
[86] Jennie Taylor, 'The Orphanage Work – From Mrs Hudson Taylor', *China's Millions*, 1879, p.19.
[87] Jennie Taylor, 'The Orphanage Work – From Mrs Hudson Taylor', p.19.
[88] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 2, p.308.

stealing' and 'making children into slaves' reportedly hampered their work in other locales, it is possible the same thing was happening here. Again, unlike the treaty ports, where most missionaries worked, Chinese people in the interior were not used to foreigners. While missionaries had been in the region for some time, providing famine relief, it is possible that the local population treated them suspiciously. This was the same thing that happened in Yang-chau and Hang-chau, and they reported encountering it in almost every locale that they established themselves in. It was one of the reasons that they adopted the Chinese dress style. Even with good intentions if they just arrived and announced their intention to house children in a building away from the general population, it could have been enough to raise suspicions. Faulding's language in her reports is particularly alarming, on an initial read it does sound like she is actively recruiting children for the orphanage and that there is no consideration as to whether the children are actually in need of that service.

Despite the Chinese locals' hesitancy towards them, the missionaries were still able to establish projects and programs in the area. One of the first projects that they started were sewing classes for the women. The purpose of these classes was twofold; first to bring employment to the women 'thus relieving many' and to bring 'them under the influence of the gospel.' This process also had the missionaries visiting households in the region which 'gradually won the confidence of a large circle.'[89] A confidence that, reportedly, resulted in more people trusting them and bringing them cases of children needing help. In December of 1878, Faulding wrote about three girls who had been brought to the orphanage. The first one was thirteen years old and had been brought to the orphanage by her brother, their parents had been killed during the famine. The other girl was brought in by her aunt who 'begged' the missionaries to save her life as 'she had nothing to give her to eat.' The child was said to be about nine years old and in a poor state of health. She also wrote about a girl who was brought

[89] Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, Vol. 2, p.309.

to the orphanage by one of its workers: 'We have had a girl of fourteen brought to us. Her father is dead, her mother is gone she knows not where, and she has been begging for the last three months.' Faulding concluded that she seemed a smart and sensible girl.[90]

Faulding did not stay long at the orphanage and after it was established left it in the care of Crickmay and Horne. The Shansi famine relief project was also pivotal in regards to the development of the women's missionary movement. According to Kaiser, Faulding's trip to Shansi broke 'the gender barrier to interior missions work', making her the first female missionary to enter China's interior.[91] By leaving Crickmay and Horne in charge Faulding demonstrated the necessity and trust missions placed in single women. By running the home, Crickmay and Horne, joined an emerging group of single women missionaries who were taking on leadership roles in the wider movement. This emerging trend is further explored in chapter four.

Conclusion

The Lammermuir Party was the first large group of women missionaries to arrive in China. The large contingent of single women missionaries was the beginning of the directed and specific recruitment of unattached women. Yet, the power and authority of the married women in the group was demonstrative of the influence that married women still held within the missionary movement. The group's activities saw missionaries enter China's interior for the first time encountering new challenges like the apprehension these insular communities held towards strangers. While the CIM's unique approach to proselytization, such as adopting the Chinese dress, helped to ease these tensions somewhat they never completely disappeared.

The most significant contribution of the Lammermuir Party to missionary history was its legitimisation of the single woman missionary. Hudson Taylor reasoned that single women

[90] Jennie Faulding, 'Province of Shan-Si – From Mrs Hudson Taylor', *China's Millions*, 1878, p.107.
[91] Kaiser, *The Rushing on of the Purposes of God*, p.19.

were not burdened with the familial responsibilities placed on missionary wives, which granted them more time to devote to Chinese women and children. In the field, single women missionaries also had more access to Chinese women and children than did their male counterparts.[92] Chinese customs prevented women from interacting with males who were not members of the immediate family. This meant that without the participation of women missionaries half of the mission field was closed off. Single women were thus a valuable asset to a missionary society.

Before the 1870s, women who were in the mission field were largely the wives of male missionaries.[93] Initially, there was a reluctance on behalf of societies to send single women into the field, though by the 1870s this reluctance had dissipated. The Female Education Society (FES), founded in 1834, was the first society to recruit single women for missionary work. During the 1870s, the CIM also started to send more single women into the field. By 1877, there were sixty-three single women to sixty-six single men working as protestant missionaries.[94] According to missionary Kenneth Latourette, they had established a presence in six of China's coastal provinces and three inland provinces.[95] The next chapter explores the lives and careers of single women missionaries and the challenges that they faced in the mission field and how they defined their work through their publications. It also looks at how ideas of white maternalism were inherent within the women's missionary movement.

[92] Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet"', p.68.
[93] Valerie Griffiths, 'Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2008, p.524.
[94] Delia Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', *Women's History Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1992, p.261; Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1929, p.406.
[95] Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1929, p.406.

Chapter Three: Single Women Missionaries in China and White Maternalism

In 1893, George B. Farthing of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in Shansi (Shanxi), wrote to the Society's London secretary, Albert Baynes, on the subject of women missionaries. Farthing had received an application from a woman, which he described as '[an] answer to our prayers for some lady workers. The need for such is so great in our immediate field.'[1] Single women, in particular, were perceived as vital to the overall success of the missionary movement in China. From the early 1880s missionary societies prioritised the recruitment of single women missionaries, following in the footsteps of China Inland Mission (CIM).

The British women's missionary movement recruited women from all over the world to work for their missionary societies, many of whom had some form of professional training before entering service. These women tended to be mainly middle-class women from educated families.[2] Many were the daughters of reverends and former missionaries. When the London Missionary Society (LMS) started recruiting single women, they turned exclusively to missionary families and existing church structures and networks to select candidates.[3] For some women, the attraction of mission work was that it provided them with an opportunity to perform socially acceptable work; for others, missionary work was a spiritual calling comparable to that felt by women who joined convents. The call for single women to join the mission field also represented to some women the opportunity for independence that was, potentially, previously

[1] University of Oxford, Angus Library and Archive, 10224, *Letter to Baynes from Farthing*, 'G. Baynes to A. Farthing', 29 April 1893.
[2] Rhonda Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, Suffolk, UK, Boydell Press, 2003, pp.18-19.
[3] Delia Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', *Women's History Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1992, p.263.

denied to them. This opportunity raises questions about the intersection of the missionary movement with feminism and the early women's movement.

In this chapter I consider the idea of 'missionary feminism', a term used by Elizabeth Prevost in *The Communion of Women,* her study of missionary women in colonial Africa.[4] I consider attitudes towards single women missionaries, and the challenges that these women faced. There was a prevailing belief that single women were necessary for the successful evangelisation of women in China, this belief was referred to as 'Woman's Work for Woman', a phrase used by American Protestant missionary Mrs J.M.W. Farnham at the Shanghai Conference of Missionaries in 1885. In her paper, Farnham elaborates on the virtues of the white woman and her ability to reach the women or 'mothers' of China.[5] This often-repeated description of women's missionary work was intended to invoke a sense of sisterhood that belied the maternalistic and Eurocentric character of mission work. This attitude also reveals the prevalence of white maternalism within the rhetoric of women missionary work.

Yet, at the same time, the frustrations expressed by missionaries when describing their work in China reveals the extent to which some white women appeared to almost resent their Chinese contacts. This reveals a direct contrast to the maternalistic portrayal of missionary work presented above. One such article titled 'Missionary Life: Romance or Reality' appeared in the 1870 volume of *The Female Missionary Intelligencer*, the journal of the Female Education Society (FES). The female author (who signed M. J. O.) wrote in tones of rebuke:

> The very word *missionary* is for them [the readers] invested in a sacred interest. A kind of halo seems to be reflected from those who have sacrificed home and friends and country, to spend their lives in the midst of pagan darkness… one is apt to associate an

[4] Elizabeth Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2010, p.23.
[5] J.M.W. Farnham, 'Woman's Work for Woman', *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol. 16, 1885, pp.218-219.

> undefined something of unnatural, exalted heroism…above the common course of Christian life.[6]

She believed that readers should be disabused of their overly romantic views of missionary work. She detailed the difficulties associated with missionary life, writing 'There is nothing romantic in "digging away"… at the rudiments of a foreign language'.[7] She also highlighted the difficulties missionaries faced when they taught the gospel to the Chinese. With unconcealed disdain for Chinese education standards, she commented on their 'idleness', 'inattention' and 'stupidity', all 'character traits' that she claimed could be fixed with Christianity.[8]

This chapter also examines missionary responses to cultural practices in China as they sought to legitimise and establish a mandate for their continued presence there. Women missionaries framed certain cultural practices, such as marriage practices, footbinding, female infanticide, and opium addiction, as evidence of inherent immorality. A common feature of missionary publications was the use of overtly emotional language to pursuade their readership of the need for Christian intervention. To do this, this chapter draws upon missionary journals from the 1880s to the early 1920s as its main sources, including *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, produced by the Church Missionary Society (CMS); the *Female Missionary Intelligencer*, the journal of the FES; the CIM journal *China's Millions*; and the *Chinese Recorder*, an American Presbyterian missionary journal published in Shanghai. These journals published the writings of British missionaries predominantly, with occasional contributions by American missionaries. The chapter also uses the published collection of Geraldine Guinness' letters that were collated by her sister Lucy Guinness, with her own additional commentary.

[6] M.J.O., 'Missionary Life: Romance or Reality', *The Female Missionary Intelligencer*, 1870, p.124.
[7] M.J.O., 'Missionary Life: Romance or Reality', p.127.
[8] M.J.O., 'Missionary Life: Romance or Reality', p.128.

These letters provide a vivid recollection of missionary work in China in the late nineteenth century.

Other sources for this chapter are drawn from the archival collections of various missionary societies including the BMS, the CMS and the CIM. These records include the women missionaries' own voices, as expressed in their private letters and published articles. The other major source for this chapter is Tippet's unpublished memoir which provides a detailed account of her missionary journey, from initial application, through to training, and out into the mission field in China. It should be noted that despite these sources being written by missionaries, they cannot be considered an unfettered view into missionary life. Missionary literature was written for a specific purpose, to garner support for missionary intervention. This purpose informed the narrative that missionaries employed in their writing which consequently affected their topics as is discussed later in the chapter.

The Call for Women

The growing presence and prominence of women missionaries in China was facilitated by the acknowledgement of the unique contribution of single women missionaries, freed as they were from the obligations of marriage. One of the more compelling arguments in favour of women missionaries appeared in the 1884 edition of *China's Millions*, the journal of the CIM. The article titled 'Should Single Ladies come to China as Missionaries?' was written by Mrs C. W. Mateer (Julia Brown Mateer) of the American Presbyterian Mission in Tung-chau, Shan-tung (Shandong) province. Originally published as part of a collection called *Woman's Work in China*, it was reproduced in full in *China's Millions*. It was Mateer's conclusion that women in China had to be reached by women:

> Since, then, the speediest way to Christianise a nation is by Christianising its women, and since the women of China, comprising half its population, and that half the most

> difficult to teach, must be Christianised chiefly by women, it follows that *at least half the working force should be women.*[9]

Mateer also believed that while missionary wives were 'in [their] daily [lives] a most effective influence for CHRIST', there was no way that they alone could properly evangelise the women of China.[10] For Mateer, the marital duties of a missionary wife meant that they could not afford the proper time commitment needed for proselytization. In response to those who believed that men alone could achieve the evangelisation of women, she wrote:

> Under existing social customs the women of China must be taught chiefly by women… It is true, in some localities the women are comparatively free from the usual restraints of Chinese etiquette…But these are exceptional cases.[11]

Mateer's article echoes the sentiments of the proponents of single women missionaries.

Despite early reluctance, the introduction of single British women took place gradually between the 1870s and 1890s. Historian Delia Davin reported that in 1890, there were 391 single women (of 707 women) and 589 men.[12] A centennial survey conducted in 1899 found that half of the missionaries sent into the field by major Protestant missionary societies were female.[13] The CIM engaged the most women missionaries (59.7%) followed by the BMS (56.6%) and the CMS (54.9%). It was found that of all the missionaries sent out by British and Irish societies, 54.9% were women. The CIM also engaged the most single women out of those

[9] SOAS Library CIM 128 1884, Mrs C. W. Mateer, 'Should Single Ladies come to China as Missionaries?', *China's Millions*, 1884, p.29.
[10] SOAS Library CIM 128 1884, Mateer, 'Should Single Ladies come to China as Missionaries?', p.29.
[11] SOAS Library CIM 128 1884, Mateer, 'Should Single Ladies come to China as Missionaries?', p.29.
[12] Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', p.261. It is interesting to note that Mateer's call for single women comes from her own position as a married woman, perhaps indicating a sense of overwork being felt by married women missionaries.
[13] For full breakdown of the survey results see Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*, Grand Rapids, MI, William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014, p.467. The survey did not include geographical information about the missionaries' destinations.

women (35.4%) followed by the CMS (26.3%) and the BMS (22.2%). Of all the women engaged by British and Irish societies, 25.9% were single women.[14] All missionary societies provided information about the gender make up of workers with the exception of the Salvation Army, who were known for omitting this information. Historian Steven Maughan suspects that if this gender information were available it would reflect wider missionary statistics.[15] By 1907, of the 2,481 women in the mission field of China, 1,038 were single.[16]

The recruitment of single women missionaries in China appears to parallel the recruitment of single women to other parts of the missionary world. The influence of Hudson Taylor and the CIM, perhaps, places it a couple of years ahead. Historian Emily Manktelow traced the decline in popularity of the missionary wife and missionary family, in regards to the activities of the LMS and attributed this decline to the rise of the single woman missionary.[17] She pinpoints the 1870s as the decade in which the missionary family ceased to be the most desirable missionary attribute and single women, and men, started to gain traction.[18] She also points to much earlier concerns about the presence of wives, expressed by LMS Director Thomas Haweis in 1795 that a single man might be better able to concentrate on the mission, whereas a man with a family would have 'his attention distracted'.[19]

Despite the rise in the recruitment of single women missionaries, there was still debate over their suitability and priority. CMS missionary Georgina Gollock in her 1898 book, *Missionaries at Work*, stated that women's missionary work was subordinate to men's work

[14] James S Dennis, Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions, Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902 in Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*, Grand Rapids, MI, William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014, p.467.
[15] Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, p.472.
[16] Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', , p.261.
[17] Emily J. Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, gender and generation on the spiritual frontier*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2013, pp.23-50.
[18] Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, p.45.
[19] Haweis cited in Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, p. 26.

because women were 'second in creation and first in transgression.'[20] This belief in the inferiority of women's work was also supported by senior CMS officials. In 1911, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), Gerard Lander, wrote a letter to Reverend B. Baring-Gould, a senior figure in the CMS. In the letter, Lander wrote, 'As to the male missionaries…I have always found them most loyal and willing to cheerfully obey the interests[?] of authority…But I can not say the same of all the ladies.'[21] While Lander pointed out that his quarrel with women missionaries did not extend to them all, he did believe that, at least, some 'caused friction and heartburning from time to time.'[22]

> They seem convinced that any authority or committee which differ from views is necessarily wrong and they occasionally treat other people with scant courtesy. I have sometimes needed to remind C.M.S. ladies that the incumbent and church wardens of a church have more authority in the church than any women workers.[23]

Lander proposed that the reason women were challenging the male authority of the church was that they lacked humility. He suggested to Baring-Gould that women missionaries receive more training in humility.[24] This belief in the inferiority of women's work in the CMS may help to explain the slower adoption of single women missionaries by the society.

The positions of both Gollock and Lander reveal the inherent contradiction of the single women's missionary movement, that despite the apparent necessity and validity of single women missionaries to the mission field, they were still considered to be less than their male

[20] Georgina Gollock, *Missionaries at Work*, London, UK, Church Missionary Society, 1898, p.129.
[21] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 Ch1/O 1911, G. Lander to B. Baring-Gould, 26 October 1911.
[22] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 Ch1/O 1911, G. Lander to B. Baring-Gould, 26 October 1911.
[23] Cadbury research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 Ch1/O 1911, G. Lander to B. Baring-Gould, 26 October 1911.
[24] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 Ch1/O 1911, G. Lander to B. Baring-Gould, 26 October 1911.

counterparts. Despite this, the number of single women employed as missionaries continued to grow. This increase could be explained by the professionalisation of the women's missionary movement, an argument taken up by Rhonda Semple in her book *Missionary Women*.[25] The second half of the nineteenth century saw most missionary societies establish women's boards and branches to oversee the missionary work of women. However, the levels to which women were able to participate in leadership roles in each society differed. This attitude to women's participation in the missionary movement changed over time, as evidenced by the increasing demand for single women missionaries.

Faith missions like the CIM were quicker to recruit women as missionaries in their own right. Of the major mission societies in China, it was among the first to actively recruit single women for the mission field. According to historian Sarah Paddle, to avoid any suggestion of impropriety, single women recruits in the CIM were given instructions 'that maintained a careful gender separation in the lives of women and men in the field.'[26] The women of the CIM were kept apart from the male missionaries in their living arrangements, their daily work, and their travel arrangements. Marriage among missionaries was also prohibited in the first three years of service.[27] Despite these rules, by the turn of the century, the CIM had the largest contingent of women missionaries in China among the major Protestant missions.

One such woman who was recruited during the period was Charlotte Tippet.[28] Tippet joined the CIM in 1902 at the peak of women's missionary activity. She decided to go to China

[25] Semple, *Missionary Women*.
[26] Sarah Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China', *Itinerario*, vol. 34, 3, 2010, p.68.
[27] Sarah Paddle, "To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": p.68.
[28] Tippet was born in Maltby, Yorkshire in 1874, and was the fourth child and eldest daughter of Henry and Charlotte (nee Teal) Tippet. Prior to her work as a missionary, she was a trained surgical nurse and worked in a hospital in England. Tippet, like many missionaries, published works about her time in China that detailed her experience as a missionary. This chapter draws upon her unpublished memoir, *Diversities of Operations* (1938), and her two published volumes about her work and time in China; *The Clock Man's Mother, and other stories* (1930), and *The Tin Traveller* (1931) both published by the Religious Tract Society.

as a missionary after receiving what she described, as a sign from God. Yet, her decision to go to China was a tumultuous one, for it meant leaving behind her mother who had just lost her husband to poor health. At the age of twenty-eight, it is likely that Tippet had already decided that marriage was not her life's ambition.[29] However, like many women missionaries, she felt being a missionary was a vocation: 'I knew God wanted me in China, and to China I must go.'[30]

From 1902-1938 she worked as a medical missionary for the CIM stationed in Chefoo (Yantai). She travelled to China as part of the first contingent of CIM missionaries following the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901), a period that saw mission societies suspend the transportation of missionaries to China due to safety concerns. Historian Joseph W. Esherick notes, however, that just prior to the Rebellion, Protestant missionaries in China had 'more than doubled, from a count of 1,296 in 1889 to 2,818 by 1900'.[31] She first heard about the CIM after she attended a lecture given by Walter B. Sloan, the Assistant Home Director of the society, and a former missionary. While she did not know Sloan's connection to the society, she did feel a connection to the work of a missionary.[32] Following this lecture, she was introduced to the journal of the CIM by her local minister's wife. The journals of missionary societies were not just important for legitimising and validating their work but also served as part of the informal networks that they relied upon to recruit new missionaries. As an inter-denominational mission with no official church structure behind it, the CIM, especially, relied on these networks for recruitment.

Other societies such as the Female Education Society (see chapter one) and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society only ever recruited single women as their missionaries.

[29] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Charlotte F. Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, 1938, p.15
[30] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.15.
[31] Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988, p. 93.
[32] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.14.

Both of these societies were run by women for women missionaries, a small part of the overall Protestant mission to China. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) was founded in 1880. This society followed in the tradition of the Baptist Missionary Society's Zenana missions established to enable single women to evangelise women in India.[33] The CEZMS was closely affiliated with the CMS. According to Irene H. Barnes, who wrote the society's published history in 1896, the calls for missionary work in China started in 1882 when 'influential' supporters of the CEZMS wrote to the committee imploring them to help the 'heathen' women and children of China.[34] In October 1883, the CEZMS sent its first missionary, Miss Gough, to Foochow (Fuzhou) to help CMS missionary Mrs Stewart who was training Chinese biblewomen. She stayed in Foochow until her marriage to CMS missionary Reverend Joseph Hoare, bishop of Hong Kong (1898-1906), in 1893.[35] By 1899 the society had 234 women missionaries in China.[36]

Challenges for Missionary Women

When Tippet joined the Training Home of the CIM sometime around 1900 to 1901, she was tasked with learning the Chinese language. Like many women missionaries she found this task quite difficult,

> The first steps in the study of the Chinese language was intensely interesting, but we realised what a colossal wall we were up against, and that a grasp of the language must be His gift, though we of course must do our part.[37]

[33] Zenana missions took their name from the Indian name for the inner secluded section of a house where the women of the family lived, the Zenana. The outer section of the house was reserved for visiting men and the males of the household. See Eliza Kent, 'Tamil Biblewomen and the Zenana Missions of Colonial South India', *History of Religions*, Vol. 39, No. 2, Christianity in India, 1999, p.120.
[34] Irene H. Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C.E.Z.M.S work and workers in China*, London, UK, Marshall Brothers, 1896, p.1.
[35] Donald McGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907, pp.51-52.
[36] Dennis, Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions, p.467.
[37] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.16.

She further remarked on the process of learning Chinese:

> Imagine sitting at a square table opposite to a gentleman whose words you could not understand, but what he did say you tried to imitate, and sounds something like this from various rooms echoed around. Fu (low tone) Fu. (descending tone) Fu. (high tone) Fu, (sharp tone) and so on, till the sound penetrated our seemingly dull brain. Then the first attempts to talk! resulting in confusion, but the patience and courtesy of the Chinese teachers is limitless.[38]

These sentiments also echo the earlier comments of M.J.O who also bemoaned the difficulties of learning the Chinese language.

By the early 1900s, it was common practice for mission societies to have 'native' helpers. They were engaged in interpretation, evangelisation, and language instruction. Within a couple of months of her arrival, Tippet was assigned to a station in China's north, the treaty port of Chefoo (Yantai) in the Shantung (Shandong) province. James Hudson Taylor had established a school for the children of missionaries and a sanatorium for sick missionaries in Chefoo in 1881 so Tippet's path to Chefoo followed two decades of CIM missionaries.[39]

Missionary work in China was also overshadowed by the physical dangers faced by missionaries. There was an ongoing threat of violence towards missionaries, particularly in relation to large scale conflicts such as the Boxer Rebellion. Then there was the ongoing possibility of contracting one of many diseases that were prevalent in China at the time: typhoid, dysentery. Tuberculosis, and meningitis. CIM missionary Geraldine Guinness, for

[38] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.24.
[39] Semple, *Missionary Women*, p.163.

example, wrote about how the start of her missionary work was delayed due to the death of a missionary, Miss Dawson, from typhoid. [40]

There were other challenges that were unique to women missionaries. The women and children in China were the hardest group to evangelise requiring more resources, due to the social and cultural isolation of many Chinese women. This led to them possibly clashing with missionary boards over resources leading to criticisms from those men with authority. These clashes were referred to by Lander in his complaint about the conduct of women missionaries and his belief that they required more training in humility. They also faced challenges in the way of living quarters and pay.

When the fiancé of American Baptist missionary Adele Fielde died unexpectedly in 1865 in Bangkok, Fielde had to fight the Baptist board for access to the living quarters that he had procured for them to live in.[41] After the death of her fiancé the Baptist missionary board viewed Fielde as a widow and not as a single woman missionary. At this point in time the board prioritised the recruitment of married couples.[42] The board wanted to house another family in the house with Fielde as they believed that she did not need an entire house for herself. She also fought the board for equal pay. Initially the board offered her $300 per year for her work as a missionary, half the annual pay of a male missionary. Fielde rejected this offer, as she did not see why a woman with the same expenses as a man should be paid less. Eventually the board conceded to her and she was paid $500 per year. [43]

[40] Geraldine Guinness, 'First Days in the Flowery Land' in Lucy Guinness (ed.) *In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness in China*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1889, p.37.
[41] Frederick Hoyt, 'When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent': Adele M. Fielde in Asia, 1865-1890', *The Historian*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 1982, pp.315-317.
[42] Leonard Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde: Feminist, Social Activist, Scientist (Women in Science)*, London, UK, Routledge, 2002, p.24.
[43] Hoyt, 'When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent', p.317.

Fielde was eventually expelled as a missionary from Bangkok for inappropriate behaviour. According to senior officials in the Baptist missionary society she was becoming 'truculent', staying out too late at night.[44] The official reason the board gave for her expulsion was that she was a 'card playing, dancing missionary' who was too much involved with 'the world'. On her return to New York, Fielde fought these charges.[45] The board concluded that she was guilty only of 'imperfections… [that] are common to Christians everywhere.' A conclusion that allowed her to return to China and establish her training school for native evangelists.[46] Again, an event that harkens to Lander's and Gollock's ideas that women missionaries were problematic.

Chinese Biblewomen

Not all female evangelisation in China was performed by white women, some was performed by Chinese women. The conversion of Chinese women, who then went on to take up missionary work, supported and legitimised the mission project. To those who imagined the mission as an unwelcome intervention by foreigners, the Chinese biblewomen, otherwise known as 'native evangelists', were proof of Chinese support. Even with the popularity of single women missionaries in the late nineteenth century, biblewomen were, perhaps, the most pervasive female presence in the women's missionary movement in China. Biblewomen were local, literate Chinese women trained in the gospel and sent out by missions to recruit and evangelise the Chinese. American Baptist missionary Adele Fielde was one of the revolutionary figures within this evangelical program. Although the practice of training 'native biblewomen' was not new, Fielde made it an institution.[47] In 1874, she started a biblewomen's training school in Swatow (Shantou); where she recruited the women herself and bought them

[44] Hoyt, 'When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent', pp.320-321.
[45] Hoyt, 'When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent', pp.320.
[46] The Baptist Committee cited in Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde*, p.44.
[47] Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde*, p.62

to Swatow for three months' training. At the start, the women were generally older widows, as Fielde believed they were more readily able to leave home for the training.[48] Within twenty years of the first recruits, around 500 women had passed through her school and the school had a staff of eleven trained teachers. By 1900, there were forty training centres across China.[49]

Chinese biblewomen were seen as crucial to the overall mission in China. Writing in 1887, Scottish Presbyterian clergyman, James Oswald Dykes, in his introduction to Fielde's book *Pagoda Shadows,* made a plea for more Chinese women to help to convert other Chinese women, writing, 'Especially must a native agency be called into existence far more numerous than the foreign missionaries, and far less costly. The women, too, can only be reached in detail and by women, which means a whole army of humble Bible-women scattered over the face of the country'.[50] The use of biblewomen as evangelists not only contributed to the extensive coverage of the missionary movement in China, but provided Chinese women with a chance to exercise their own agency.

One such biblewoman was Mrs Ahok, who first met FES missionary Miss Foster around 1880 in the city of Foo-chow (Fuzhou). She was the wife of a wealthy merchant in the city. Her husband was a Christian, having previously been employed as a male servant, by the Syme family, an influential Christian family in Foo-chow. It was during this employment that he was converted to Christianity by his mistress, Mrs Syme, when she used the bible to teach her servants English out of concern for their 'eternal welfare'.[51] He reportedly came to Miss

[48] Frederick Hoyt, ''When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent': Adele M. Fielde in Asia 1865-1890', *The Historian,* Vol. 44, No. 3, 1982, p.325; Valerie Griffiths, p.531.
[49] Valerie Griffiths, 'Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea', *Women's History Review,* Vol. 17, No. 4, 2008, p.531.
[50] J. Oswald Dykes, 'Introduction' in Adele Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China,* London, UK, T. Ogilivie Smith, 1887, p.x.
[51] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall,* p.60.

Foster requesting that she teach his wife English. A request she only accepted on the provision that she could teach the bible.

While Mrs Ahok had not initially sought out Miss Foster for the purpose of evangelical instruction she did agree to the instruction, while pursuing her own agenda. She had been unable to conceive a son and as was customary had decided to adopt a son. One day during Foster's instruction she asked if she could come and stay at the mission house. When Foster asked why, she replied, 'what your book says is very nice indeed; but I want to come and *live* with you, to see if *you* do as it says.'[52] This was of course an opportunity that Foster could not resist. In this exchange Mrs Ahok was not a passive receiver of missionary teachings and instead was an active participant in the exchange, questioning missionary motives and lives. Her visit to the mission home was cut short when her adopted son fell ill. After her adopted son made a full recovery from his illness, Mrs Ahok's motive in seeking to learn about Christianity was revealed. She wanted a biological son. She said to Foster, 'You tell us your God will give you all you ask; so now I want you to ask Him to give me a son!'[53] Although Foster tried to explain that prayer did not necessarily work that way, when Mrs Ahok said that if she was granted a son she would convert to Christianity and have the child baptised as Christian, Foster reportedly started praying daily that Mrs Ahok would give birth to a son. Twelve months later Mrs Ahok gave birth to a son and converted to Christianity on the day of his baptism. She went on to become an ambassador for Christianity in China, her description of her role, working with the wealthy women of the city.[54] This role would eventually see Mrs Ahok travel to England to talk about the need for the gospel in China.[55]

[52] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, p.62.
[53] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, p.63
[54] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, p.63.
[55] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, pp.71-74.

The story of Mrs Ahok reveals two things about the missionaries' relationships with Chinese women. The first is the agency of these women. Mrs Ahok was not a passive participant in her evangelisation. She questioned the process and the behaviour of the missionaries, it is reasonable to assume that many Chinese women did the same thing. It also reveals the way in which missionaries attempted to manipulate narratives. At the start of the story Mrs Ahok is described as difficult and 'heathen', by the end of the story she is described as a 'dear Chinese sister' the only change in circumstance being her conversion to Christianity. The missionary impression is that Christianity has rid her of her less desirable character traits. The fact that she only converted to Christianity in the belief that she could have a son is not emphasised in their narrative. This example also reveals the ways in which white maternalism worked within the missionary compound through the reference of Mrs Ahok as a 'dear sister'.

Missionaries and Chinese Culture

Once established in China, missionaries encountered traditions and behaviours that they framed as confronting, dangerous, and signs of a 'primitive' society. For them, this amounted to a lack of morality that, they believed, was inherent in 'heathen' China. These traditions included practices such as footbinding, female infanticide, polygamy and concubinage, and opium addiction (a practice which had been exacerbated by the British opium trade).[56] Missionaries posited that the adoption of Christianity would see the practices that they framed as immoral disappear, and as a result, the status of Chinese women would naturally improve. This in turn provided validation for the missionary movement in China. This desire for validation was a key factor in missionary literature.

[56] Missionaries were critical of the British opium trade see Lauren F. Pfister, 'Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard' in Andrew N. Porter (ed.) *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003, p.196.

Upon arrival in China, many missionaries were quick to condemn what they viewed as the restrictive living conditions of Chinese women and girls. In the official history of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS), published in 1896, missionary Irene Barnes wrote, 'Chinese girls, what a girlhood is theirs! Little enough for them of free child-life, of the light of love!'.[57] In the eyes of the CEZMS missionaries, the 'atmosphere of heathen homes' was an oppressive force in the lives of Chinese girls who they referred to as 'slaves of custom'.[58] This belief was echoed by many missionaries who saw some Chinese traditions and customs as little more than tools for the oppression of women. British women missionaries thought that it was their duty to 'rescue' Chinese women from these cultural practices and traditions.[59] Barnes declared that the work of CEZMS missionaries allowed Chinese women and girls to 'expand and blossom in the warmth of Christian care and affection.'[60]

One method employed by missionary literature that helped to garner support for their project was the image of vulnerability. In different ways, missionaries portrayed women and children in China as especially vulnerable. When talking about adult Chinese women, missionaries often, through implication, infantilised them. They called the women 'poor', 'ignorant', and referred to the need to 'raise the women', a phrase often associated with childrearing which helped to assign a form of childlike helplessness to the women of China. When writing about children they often described them as 'lifeless', 'neglected', and 'poor'. The deliberate use of words such as this allowed the missionary and their reading audience to ascribe to women and children alike, a vulnerability that may or may not have existed.

[57] Irene H. Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C.E.Z.M.S work and workers in China*, London, UK, Marshall Brothers, 1896, p.99.
[58] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, pp.99, 12.
[59] Missionaries established their mandate for intervention on the assumption that Chinese men also needed rescuing but this thesis focusses on women.
[60] Barnes, *Behind the Great Wall*, p.99.

It was this assignment of vulnerability that fed into the construction of Chinese women as victims. Women's studies scholar, Janet Lee, argues that the construction of Chinese women's victimhood by missionary women 'perpetuated the social dynamic of a colonial social order', even though missionary women questioned the 'androcentric nature of this colonial authority'.[61] I argue that the construction of Chinese women as victims was also a necessary part of the missionary mandate in China. Without the support of a formal colonial government, as was the case in Hong Kong, missionaries in China needed to justify their intervention in Chinese culture. By portraying the women and children of China as helpless victims of Chinese patriarchy they were able to justify their evangelical endeavours. However, this portrayal of Chinese women, which largely overlooked the agency of Chinese women and children, was itself an act of colonialism, seeking to replace Chinese patriarchy with white maternalism. As discussed in the thesis introduction, research by historian Sarah Paddle has pushed back against this narrative in her research into the lives of Australian women missionaries.[62] However, this attitude does not seem to be present in the earlier British missionary archive of the late nineteenth century. For these missionaries, Chinese culture represented an oppression that only Christianity could alleviate.

Chinese Marriage: Polygamy and Child Brides

While missionaries were critical of a number of specific Chinese traditions that they believed led to suffering on the part of women and children, they were more broadly concerned with the institution of marriage itself. In the 1887 edition of *China's Millions*, missionary Annie Taylor,

[61] Janet Lee, "Between Subordination and She-Tiger: Social Constructions of White Femininity in the lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19, no. 6, (1996): 621-632, p.622.
[62] Sarah Paddle, '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China', *Itinerario*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010, p.67.

who worked in the Chinese city of Lan-chau (Lanzhou), set out what she believed were the 'evils' of Chinese marriage practices:

> A woman here is just looked upon as so much merchandise; a girl is either sold when quite young to a man she has never seen, and who will likely beat her, or she may be sold as a slave. Wife-beating is common even among the better class. Is it to be wondered at that many of them commit suicide?[63]

Taylor recounted stories of young girls who had been sold as 'slaves' or had been beaten by their relatives. She concluded that because of the neglect and abuse that Chinese women were subjected to, they had 'sunken low in[to] degradation and vice, their very faces being disfigured by passion.'[64] Here Taylor described the physical abuse of women that she believed was inherent in Chinese marriages. She closed her piece with a plea for more help in Lan-chau, asking 'Who will come and help to raise them?'[65]

Missionary criticisms of Chinese marriage practices often oversimplified the institution's place in Chinese society and overlooked the social and economic benefits conferred on married women. When a woman married, she gained the right to claim a maintenance from her husband's estate as well as a 'place of honour in ancestral rites.'[66] Marriage provided women with a secure status in Chinese society as divorces were almost unheard of. While a concubine held a less secure position, protected only by her husband's sense of community standing, her relationship was still considered to be legitimate.[67] In an ideal Chinese marriage the groom's family held a slightly higher social standing, thus through

[63] SOAS Library CIM 131 1887, Annie Taylor, 'The Degradation of Women', *China's Millions*, 1887, p.62.
[64] SOAS Library CIM 131 1887, Taylor, 'The Degradation of Women', p.62.
[65] SOAS Library CIM 131 1887, Taylor, 'The Degradation of Women', p.62.
[66] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, 'Introduction' in Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey (eds) *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1991, p.2.
[67] Mary Jo Maynes and Ann Waltner, 'Childhood, Youth, and the Female Life Cycle: Women's Life Transitions in a World Historical Perspective: Comparing Marriages in China and Europe', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 2001, p.15.

the marriage the bride, and potentially her family were elevated within Chinese society.[68] Marriage gave Chinese women security and status that was unavailable to them as single women.[69] This reality, however, did not prevent missionary condemnation of Chinese marriage and adoption practices.

In their criticism of Chinese marriage customs missionaries often construed the formalised transfers of brides as 'trafficking' of women and young girls, for marriage and adoption, as slavery, and sometimes kidnapping. This was at odds with the complicated view that the Chinese held concerning these practices. Historian Elizabeth Sinn argues that for the Chinese, there were two forms of trafficking: 'good' and 'wicked'.[70] The first category covered the sale of young boys as sons and the sale of young girls as female domestic servants. The former was seen as a way of preserving the male line, and the latter as a way of 'saving' young girls from a life of poverty. The second category conceded that the sale of people for prostitution and the use of 'decoying, kidnapping, or use of compulsion' in transfers was illegal and punishable by law.[71] The transfer of women and young girls for marriage was also regarded as a benign and beneficial contractual arrangement.

The subject of child brides and the transfer of money on marriage was a practice that missionaries sought to highlight. In 1883, the *Church Missionary Gleaner* published a series of articles written by a CMS missionary identified as Mrs Fagg. Titled 'Listen! True Stories from Fuh-chow, By a Lady Missionary'. The author was likely Australian Mrs George Fagg, who before her marriage was Margaret Cooper of Tasmania. She had previously served with the FES and together with her friend Miss Louisa Stewart, was responsible for establishing the

[68] Maynes and Waltner, 'Childhood, Youth, and the Female Life Cycle', p.15.
[69] For more on Chinese marriage practices see the Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey's edited collection *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*.
[70] Elizabeth Sinn, 'The Protection of Women in 19th Century Hong Kong' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, p.147.
[71] Elizabeth Sinn, 'The Protection of Women in 19th Century Hong Kong', p.147.

CEZMS mission in the Fujian province. Her husband, George Fagg, was the chairman and treasurer of the Foreign Missionary Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association in Tasmania.[72] Fagg, reporting from the Fujian mission, described her encounter with a boy and his infant bride in an arranged Chinese marriage:

> The little boy had a tiny girl in his arms, so I asked, "Is that your sister?" "No," he answered, and looked very shy. His brother, standing near, said, "that's his wife." … that I asked the mother why she took a child so young from its own mother. " Well, you know, if I had waited I should have had to pay a high price, and I can't afford it.[73]

Fagg appeared shocked by the young age of the bride in question, the casual way the boy's mother described the exchange of children, and the idea of arranged marriages in general. She declared that only the introduction of Christianity would see an end to the practice of arranged marriage, 'It is a lawful custom in their land, and until Christianity makes way it will not be changed. I don't think civilisation will ever do it, so many of them think their own civilisation superior to ours [sic].'[74]

Another criticism that missionaries had of Chinese marriage was concubinage, a custom that allowed the husband to bring another woman into the household but did not compel him to marry her. According to Fagg, writing in 1883, concubinage was a cause of great distress to many women in China. She recounted the story of one woman whose marriage supposedly was happy until her husband took on a concubine. This development made the wife's life miserable, and she turned to opium for comfort. According to Fagg, it was the wife's conversion to Christianity that eventually saved her.[75]

---

[72] Ian Welch, 'British and Australian Anglican Women in 19th Century China', Working Paper, ANU Research Publications, Australian National University, 2015, p.16.
[73] Fagg, 'Listen! True Stories from Fuh-chow, By a Lady Missionary', *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 1883, p.44.
[74] Fagg, 'Listen! True Stories from Fuh-chow, By a Lady Missionary', p.44.
[75] Fagg, 'Listen! True Stories from Fuh-chow, By a Lady Missionary', p.21.

Writing decades later McKinnon also took exception to the practice of concubinage. In 'Chinese Marriage and Women', she recounted the story of one woman's husband who took on a concubine after the couple's child had died. The concubine had been able to provide the husband with a son. The husband already had two concubines who, she claimed, had been 'taken from houses of prostitution and [were] women of bad character and no education.' McKinnon went on to proclaim, 'One does not need to describe the results of introducing such women into a household.'[76]

Female Infanticide

The idea of Chinese women as victims of male patriarchy was a constant theme in missionary literature. Many of the missionaries believed that women were treated as second-class citizens in China. This belief was bolstered by their witnessing the practice of female infanticide among poorer Chinese families. Historian Patricia Ebrey related the problem of female infanticide in China to development of high bride prices, which meant that poorer families were unable to afford to pay the cost of their daughter's dowry. She cites evidence from the Song period, of an official in Foochou, ordering limits on dowries in order to discourage female infanticide, suggesting that the problem was one which Chinese authorities did not condone.[77]

According to missionary observation in the late nineteenth century, female infanticide was common practice. In 1892, Miss Marie Guex, a Swiss missionary with the CIM at Yushan (Jiangxi Province), published an article titled 'Our Poor Little Sisters in China'.[78] She claimed

[76] SOAS Library CIM 166 1924, McKinnon, 'Chinese Women and Marriage', p.40.
[77] Patricia Ebrey, 'Women, marriage and family in Chinese history', in Paul S. Ropp, (ed.) *Heritage of China: contemporary perspectives on Chinese civilization*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, p.208.
[78] Marie Guex had arrived in China in 1889 and by 1892 was the most senior of the seven women at the Yushan mission. She was 38 years old at the time. Guex remained in China until the age of 70. Passenger lists show her arriving in London on 10 February 1924, on the S.S. 'City of Paris' from Shanghai. She is described as a citizen of Switzerland, and a CIM missionary, intending to live in England. UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960, on ancestry.com.au accessed 15 March 2019. Of the other Yushan missionaries, Miss Mackintosh, who had been there since 1884, had left in 1892. Three others were from the Scandinavian China Alliance Mission working with CIM. For names of the Scandinavian women see Howard Taylor, James Hudson Taylor, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, Morgan and Scott, 1893, pp.472-3.

that some women she had spoken to had confessed to drowning two or three female children each, 'often with a conscience perfectly at ease'.[79] American Baptist missionary Adele Fielde, writing a few years earlier, also reported that women had confessed to her the infanticide of multiple daughters, writing 'Heathen women with no flush of shame, no sense of guilt, mentioned to me in casual conversation that they had killed several of their own children.'[80] Though Fielde conducted a limited survey to discover the actual prevalence of infanticide, she reiterated the conclusion that Chinese women were often guilty of multiple infanticides.[81] Both Guex and Fielde also refer to the selling of young girls as future wives as an alternative method of reducing the number of daughters.[82] Fielde in her book *Pagoda Shadows*, opined, 'So greatly does the welfare of the wife depend on her having sons, that it is not strange that they are her greatest desire, and her chief pride. For them she will sacrifice all else.'[83] According to historian Katie Curtain: '[Chinese] woman's role in life was to bear male children to perpetuate the family name and aid in the work.'[84] She argued that raising female children was regarded as an extra expense; they required a dowry to marry and their most productive years were not in service of their birth families, but those of their husbands.[85]

In writings by missionaries, the cause of infanticide is seen to be the low social standing, and perhaps value, of women in Chinese society. However, as historian Michelle King argues in her history of infanticide in China, historically there were many reasons, beyond the child's sex, that informed the development of the practice. These reasons included birth deformities and general poverty, sometimes exacerbated by increasing taxes, especially during the Song Dynasty (960CE-1279CE). King posits that it was not until the late imperial period that sex

[79] SOAS Library CIM 139 1892, Marie Guex, 'Our Poor Little Sisters in China', *China's Millions*, article republished from *Semailles et Moissons,* 1892, p.12; For list of missionaries, see p. 56.
[80] Adele Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*, London, T. Ogilivie Smith, 1887, p.19.
[81] Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows,* pp.28-38.
[82] SOAS Library CIM 139 1892, Guex, 'Our Poor Little Sisters in China', p. 12; Fielde, *Pagoda Shadow,* p.19.
[83] Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows,* p.5.
[84] Katie Curtain, *Women in China*, New York, Pathfinder Press, 1975, p.11.
[85] Curtain, *Women in China*, p.10.

became a major defining factor in infanticide.[86] The end of this period coincided with the arrival of missionaries to China and, perhaps, explains the increased visibility of the practice. Missionary women's observation that Chinese women practiced infanticide with seemingly little remorse might be explained by the fact that the practice had been a form of post-natal birth control for many centuries, and as argued by James Lee, was regarded as a pragmatic act.[87]

The other criticism that missionaries drew upon regarding infanticide was how widespread it appeared to be. Yet, the estimations of the numbers of infanticides that took place are inherently flawed due to a lack of records. In the most comprehensive study of the practice, it was estimated that between the years 1774 and 1873, between one-fifth and one-quarter of young girls were the victim of infanticide.[88] In another study completed by the same researchers, for the period 1700-1840, the figure fell to one-tenth.[89] The authors stressed that their numbers were the result of incomplete records and extrapolations made from European population estimates. King has also discussed the prevalence of the practice in Europe, the instance of which was significantly lower but was accompanied by a 'shockingly high' rate of child abandonment which often had the same outcome as infanticide.[90]

Footbinding

Perhaps no custom of China drew more criticism and comment from missionaries than that of footbinding. According to Ebrey the practice of footbinding had become common around the twelfth century as the result of the new Song dynasty aristocratic ideal that favoured artistic,

[86] Michelle T. King, *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth Century China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2014, p.5.
[87] James Z. Lee and Wang Feng, *One Quarter of Humanity: Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities*, 1700-2000, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1999.
[88] James Lee and Cameron Campbell, *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social Organization and Population Behaviour Liaoning 1774-1873*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp.65-70.
[89] James Lee, Wang Feng and Cameron Campbell, 'Infant and Child Mortality Among the Qing Nobility: Implications for Two Types of Positive Checks', *Population Studies*, 48, no.3, November, 1994, pp.395-411.
[90] Michelle T. King, *Between Birth and Death*, p.6.

sedentary activities.[91] By the late nineteenth century footbinding was common, particularly amongst Han women in China, with the exception of the poorest classes. Footbinding involved breaking and bending the smaller toes under the foot and wrapping the whole foot tightly in bandages to prohibit the growth of the foot. The resulting small feet were regarded as desirable but they could also prevent women from walking more than a few steps. The process of binding usually began between the ages of six and eight for the upper classes and the early teens for poorer classes who needed to be able to work. Scottish medical missionary with the LMS, John Dudgeon, described the practice thus,

> To us these little feet, "which lie in their gilded haunts like some criminals, who for parricide or other [heinous] offences are buried alive," and which give to the body that hobbling, unsteady, always inclined gait, are anything but charming. The club appearance, the unnatural instep the uncouth ankle (!), or the shriveled, lifeless skin, and the apparently anchylozed joints, are to us positively repulsive and disagreeable.[92]

While Dudgeon was more concerned with the aesthetic results of footbinding, other missionaries commented on the effect the practice had on women.

American missionary Adele Fielde claimed that the practice 'ma[de] cripples of nearly half the population and add[ed] to the misery of the poverty stricken multitudes.'[93] Fielde observed that having bound feet prevented women from looking after their homes and children and hindered their ability to travel from place to place.[94] When John Macgowan, an Irish-born missionary with the LMS, published his book in 1913 about his earlier time in China as

[91] Patricia Ebrey, 'Women, marriage and family in Chinese history', pp.220-221.
[92] J. M. D. Dudgeon, 'The Small Feet of Chinese Women', *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 1869, pp.93-96.
[93] Adele Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.46.
[94] Adele Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.46.

missionary with his wife, Jennie, he described the practice as 'more cruel and more relentless than any that had ever afflicted womankind in any country or in any age of the world'.[95]

Macgowan was an influential figure in the missionary anti-footbinding campaign. In 1875, he and his wife along with local Chinese Christians formed the Natural Foot Society or *Tianzu*, which literally translated to the Heavenly Foot Society. The Macgowans were inspired to act after they reportedly heard the screams of a young girl who was having her feet bound by her mother.[96] The society's work was done through pamphleteering, education, and lobbying of the Qing court. Much of Macgowan's book, *How England Saved China*, is occupied with the campaign to end footbinding. Following the turn of the century the leadership of the society was turned over to the Chinese, and with the establishment of the Republic, the practice was outlawed.

Missionary critiques of footbinding focus on the physical deformation that resulted from footbinding and how this hindered the freedom of movement of Chinese women. Laurel Bossen and Hill Gates in their book *Bound Feet, Young Hands* recorded an interview with 'Lovely Flower', an eighty-year-old woman who had had her feet bound as a young child. 'Lovely Flower' said that after her feet were bound she was no longer able to run around outside, as she did as a young child. Instead, she had to stay inside and spin cotton thread and weave cotton cloth. However, this provided her with an opportunity to earn an income as she sold the thread and cotton to other women.[97] The link between labour and footbinding is further explored in the work of Bossen and Gates who examine how the rise and fall of footbinding is closely linked with changing patterns of female labour.[98] Anthropologists Melissa Brown and Damien Satterthwaite-Phillips also examined this link. In their study of footbinding, they

[95] John Macgowan, *How England Saved China, London*, T.F. Unwin, 1913, p.15.
[96] Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2005, p.14.
[97] Laurel Bossen and Hill Gates, *Bound Feet, Young Hands: Tracking the Demise of Footbinding in Village China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2017, p. 1.
[98] Bossen and Gates, *Bound Feet, Young Hands*.

conclude that it was not necessarily legislative prohibitions on footbinding that saw its demise but was, perhaps, the industrialisation of previously domestic industries.[99] While there is much evidence to suggest that the practice of footbinding was indeed painful and, at times crippling, the missionary idea of housebound women at the mercy of Chinese men is not the full story.

Opium use by Chinese women

Another concern for missionaries in China regarding the welfare of women was the Opium Trade. As historian Julia Lovell has commented, 'The conspicuous popularity of the drug amongst the Chinese became a symptom of moral weakness and torpor of this alien, inexplicable race.'[100] This portrayal created a justification for the presence of missionaries in China, producing both sympathy and contempt for the Chinese population.[101] Missionaries were aware that this situation was the result of the British trade in opium following the Opium Wars. In the 1879 edition of *China's Millions*, missionary S. S. Mander outlined the economic pitfalls of England's opium trade, arguing that the opium trade 'paralys[ed] a healthy commerce' by taking business and exports away from domestic industries.[102] Mander also criticised the 'sin and disgrace of the trade' and 'the ruin we are working in China'.[103]

One missionary who commented extensively on opium use in Chinese women was Mary Geraldine Guinness, more commonly referred to as Geraldine. Guinness was the daughter of Henry Gratten Guinness, a close friend of Hudson Taylor and a founding member of the CIM. Guinness joined the CIM in 1888, travelling to China in the same year.[104] She was twenty-two years old at the time. In 1894 she married Dr Frederick Howard Taylor, the son of

[99] Melissa J. Brown and Damien Satterthwaite-Phillips, 'Economic correlates of footbinding: Implications for the importance of Chinese daughters' labor,"' *PLoS ONE* 13, no. 9, September, 2018, pp.1, 19.
[100] Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China*, Sydney, Picador, 2011, p.271.
[101] Lovell, *The Opium War,* p.271.
[102] S.S. Mander, 'Our Opium Trade with China', *China's Millions*, 1879, p. 35, http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/474309.
[103] Mander, 'Our Opium Trade with China,' p.35.
[104] Lucy Guinness (ed.) *In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness in China*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1889, p.1.

Hudson Taylor and his first wife Maria.[105] It is reasonable to assume that there was a chance that Guinness and Frederick knew each other in childhood.

Despite her role as an historian and writer for the CIM, there is little written about her own experiences of China in published histories of the society. In Valerie Griffiths', *Not Less than Anything*, Guinness appears as a supporting helper in stories about other CIM missionaries such as Nellie Marchbank.[106] Griffiths observed that over her time in China Guinness had become an 'outstanding writer and historian for the CIM' and that she never stopped writing while she was travelling.[107] In Alvyn Austin's history of the CIM, *China's Millions*, Guinness' role as the historian of the CIM is acknowledged as well as her connections to the early generation of CIM missionaries, however, Austin gives no details about her missionary career.[108] From the letters she wrote it does not appear that she established any independent missionary projects like other missionaries, appearing to be content with helping others, this perhaps, accounts for the lack of scholarly interest in her career.

Guinness wrote at length on the subject of opium use among the women and young girls in the city of Yangzhou. Indeed, her sister, Lucy, who collated her letters for publication, included a whole chapter in the book on this issue called 'Opium Suicides Among Women'. It is not clear that the women who chose to use opium to commit suicide were even regular users of the drug, let alone addicts. While regular opium users smoked the drug in pipes, the practice of eating opium was associated with female suicide attempts. In her first account of an opium suicide Guinness wrote that the young girl was driven to commit the act after a quarrel with her mother, opining, 'Often, alas! It is perpetuated thus out of *revenge*, for the Chinese believe

[105] *Who's who in the Far East, 1906-7*, Hong Kong, China Mail, 1906, p.308.
[106] Valeria Griffiths, *Not Less Than Everything: The courageous women who carried the Christian gospel to China*, Oxford, UK, Monarch Books with Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 2004, p.105,
[107] Valeria Griffiths, *Not Less Than Everything*, p.128.
[108] Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*, Michigan, US, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007, p.16.

that after such a death the departed soul with haunt the living offenders, and be able to bring upon them all kinds of evil and suffering.'[109] Christian readers of the period would have been well aware that for them suicide was forbidden, and that to commit suicide meant being denied entry into heaven, thus making this account of the Chinese idea of suicide particularly shocking.

In another story Guinness described how an elderly woman ate a large dose of opium. Relatives of the woman came to mission compound to fetch the missionaries who could administer an emetic that forced the person to vomit up the consumed opium.[110] When the missionaries arrived at the house of the woman, however, the elderly woman insisted that she had not eaten any opium and she refused to take any medicine. In another account Guinness wrote of a young woman who ate opium to relieve her grief. She was of the impression that the missionaries were not able to administer the medicine in time to save the young girl.[111]

Guinness was especially distressed by another alleged attempted suicide of a young girl. Guinness claimed that the young girl had been purchased by the family she was with when she was six years old as a wife for one of their sons.[112] The girl was not yet married to the son, but she was beaten and abused by her future mother in law. Guinness wrote: 'we gather that she longs to die – longs to die and will not live – if they make her take the medicine and get better, she will jump into the well'.[113] According to Guinness, the mother in law was indifferent to the child's condition, 'she cares not as long as we do what we can to prevent the girl dying, for in that case another wife would have to be bought for her son.'[114]

[109] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides Among Women', p.52.
[110] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides Among Women', pp.54-55.
[111] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides Among Women', pp.57-58.
[112] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides Among Women', p.60.
[113] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides Among Women', p.59.
[114] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides among Women', p.59.

As Guinness makes references to the young girl as 'sold' she reinforced the trope of female slavery in China. This strategy was particularly effective in female reading audiences. According to historian Susan Pederson, 'Victorian feminism had been shaped by the analogy between marriage and slavery', that is they equated the lack of freedom that women had in regards to men with a form of sexual slavery.[115] As a result, women missionaries and their readers constructed for themselves a history of slavery that made a compelling call to action. This slavery narrative is examined further in chapter six.

The connection between the British opium trade and the use of the drug in China was well known in this period and Guinness recorded her distress at British complicity what was described as the ruin of Chinese people. She told the story of another young girl who, allegedly, committed opium suicide and reflected on the role of the British in these circumstances. Guinness wrote, 'There swept over me the awful realization of the part England has played in this devil's triumph – the heavy curse of my adopted people.'[116] She goes on to describe the opium war and how Britain 'forced [opium] upon them at the Bayonet's point' and as a result this young girl was dying 'in her misery… with British opium!'[117] According to Guinness, a Chinese man told her that he was unsure of heaven 'but I know there is a hell, for China has been a hell ever since you brought the opium to us.'[118] Like Mander, Guinness did not believe that the opium trade was good for anyone. For missionaries, their opposition to opium was one of the few areas where they disagreed with colonial authorities

One of the ways that missionaries countered the issue of opium addiction was to set up opium refuges as part of the missionary compound, such as the refuge that was established in South Shan-si (Shanxi) specifically for Chinese women. In 1898 two of the refuge's women

[115] Susan Pederson, 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over 'Child Slavery'in Hong Kong, 1917-1941', *Past & Present*, No. 171, 2001, p.181.
[116] Guinness, 'A cry from China', p.173.
[117] Guinness, 'A cry from China', pp.173-174.
[118] Guinness, 'A cry from China', p.173.

missionaries published a report of its activities in *China's Millions*.[119] Miss A. Jacobsen, the first author of the report, wrote that twenty-seven women had passed through the refuge and that the venture was so successful that Mrs Hsi, the Chinese woman responsible for the refuge, wanted to open a similar refuge for men. She wrote of a woman who came to the refuge, who on arrival was, apparently, quite distressed as she was 'constantly tormented by evil spirits' but left the refuge 'cured' and 'quite sound in her mind.'[120] Jacobsen also wrote of a young schoolgirl who spent some time every day with the patients in the refuge reading the gospel to them, an activity that she claimed the women enjoyed. Unlike other missionaries, Jacobsen did not use highly emotive language in her accounts, but she did highlight her belief in the connection between evangelisation and refuges. [121] This connection highlighted the belief among missionaries that Christianity was the solution to China's perceived social problems, thus justifying the missionary position.

It was not just in refuges that missionaries sought to use opium addiction treatments as an opportunity to evangelise. Guinness in her book described how after she and her companion left a child that they treated for a suspected opium overdose, her companion tried to preach the gospel to the rest of the family who were gathered in one of the other rooms in the house. While the audience seemed attentive, the men in the house wanted them to leave.[122] For missionaries like Guinness and her companion, administering medicine to sick Chinese women and girls was about more than just providing health care, it was also about providing an opportunity to gain more converts to Christianity.

In all the examples described above, there was distinct a narrative that missionaries employed. Missionaries took customs and framed them in a way that demonstrated what they

[119] SOAS Library CIM 142 1898, 'Opium Refuge Work in South Shan-si', *China's Millions*, 1898, p.149.
[120] SOAS Library CIM 142 1898, 'Opium Refuge Work in South Shan-si', p.149.
[121] SOAS Library CIM 142 1898, 'Opium Refuge Work in South Shan-si', p.149.
[122] Guinness, 'Opium Suicides among Women', p.60.

believed to be the inherent immorality of Chinese culture, especially regarding women. This framing overlooked the Chinese perspective and often ignored European instances of the same or similar practices, such as with the case of infanticide. Their framing of footbound women showed them to be helpless victims of the Chinese patriarchy but dismissed such agency as was demonstrated by their economic contributions to the Chinese household. The resulting depiction of Chinese womanhood was dependent upon highlighting those aspects that provoked 'horror' with little attempt to understand the broader contexts of cultural issues. Such depictions were typically followed by a narrative that demonstrated how the adoption of Christianity had 'saved' the woman in the story, as was seen with the case of opium addiction, thus legitimising the missionary presence in China.

As noted earlier missionary literature cannot, however, be taken at face value; it was written with one goal in mind, publication. As argued by scholars such as Anna Johnston, Hannah Acke and Marianne Gullstad, it was intended as propaganda in support of the missionary movement.[123] Missionaries deliberately framed encounters with Chinese people in a way that emphasised what they believed to be inherent inequalities within Chinese culture. This emphasis led to the development of the Protestant rescue project in China. This project relied on attributing a particular vulnerability to the women and children of China that justified the intervention into their lives. They then employed conversion and education as a way to intervene in Chinese culture.

[123] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire 1800-1860,* Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2003; Hanna Acke, 'The Evocation of Emotions in a Swedish Missionary Periodical' in Claire Mclisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives, Hampshire, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.202-217; Marianne Gullestad, *Picturing Pity: Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-Cultural Communication. Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission*, New York, NY, Bergahn Books, 2007.

Women Missionaries and Feminism

The place of missionaries within the history of feminism is complex. Robert Pierce Beaver in his pivotal work *American Protestant Women in World Mission* (1980) was the first to claim that women missionaries were among the first wave of feminists. Beaver argued that the missionary movement provided women with opportunities for independence and participation in public life previously denied to them.[124] By this account, the role of a woman missionary, and the ways in which it took women out of traditional roles was in itself a feminist act. In the years following Beaver's proclamation, scholarship has shied away from labelling missionaries as feminists due to their resistance towards some forms of modernity, as discussed below. Yet, as the activities of women missionaries in China in regards to health and education mirror the activities of later contemporary feminism, it is worth considering the extent to which women missionaries could be considered feminists.

Missionaries saw themselves, particularly in China, as a modernising force in the twentieth century in terms of education and health initiatives. As Jane Hunter put it, '…missionaries brought a broad mandate to China… [they hoped] to save the world in one generation.'[125] Following the revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the Republic, it was students of the missionary schools who, by and large, became teachers within the new state system of education.[126] Missionaries also set up hospitals and clinics that helped to treat diseases such as smallpox and leprosy, diseases that had a profound effect on women.

Yet, despite these achievements, missionaries were still resistant to any modernity that did not fit into their idea of Christianity. After the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, a new idea of

[124] R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, (rev. ed.) Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1980.
[125] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New haven, CT, Yale University Press, p.229.
[126] Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937*, London, UK, Hutchinson & Co, 1979, p.123.

what it meant to be a woman was coming into existence in China, known as the 'new woman' associated with commercial consumerism.[127] Some missionaries were resistant to this form of female identity, as it did not possess the same submissive piety that the 'good' Christian woman was in possession of, despite the fact that the 'new woman' was relieved of the cultural burdens from which missionaries claimed they wished to free Chinese women. The missionary's issue with this 'freedom' was that it was not achieved through Christianity. The primary goal of the missionary was to proselytize and not to, necessarily, modernise, yet, there were times when proselytization also required some aspects of modernisation and a large percentage of this work was carried out by single, professional women.

It could be argued, however, that sending young single women with professional qualifications to proselytize in foreign countries was the epitome of early feminism as it could potentially re-structure strict Victorian gender roles and challenge male authority. However, historian and Bishop Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani argues otherwise. Francis-Dehqani posits that the recruitment of single women, particularly medical professionals, encouraged an extension of 'their "natural" aptitude for their maternal instincts and domesticity into the public realm.'[128] By this reasoning, the recruitment of single women missionaries complements traditional gender roles and did not necessarily challenge male authority on a whole.

Although recorded instances of missionary women directly challenging male authority were few, there was a growing women's movement within the church (or 'church feminism') during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his history of the women's movement in the Church of England (Anglican Church), historian Brian Heeney describes

[127] C. Wilmott, 'The paradox of gender among China missionary collectors, 1950-1950', *Social Sciences and Missions*, Vol. 25, 2012, p.132.
[128] Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani, *Religious Feminism in an Age of Empire: CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1869-1934*, Bristol, UK, Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender, Research Monograph 4, 2000, pp.144-145.

church feminism as 'a twentieth-century rebellion against the tradition of Victorian women's subordination to men.'[129] This movement directly paralleled the secular women's movement. A key goal of church feminism was for women to be more involved in church leadership. According to Heeney, church feminists campaigned for a 'reinterpretation of the ideology of domesticity and the traditional understanding of the relationship of the sexes.'[130] It was against this backdrop that the women's missionary movement developed, though few displayed a desire for a reinterpretation of domesticity and the relationship between men and women.

For Prevost, missionary feminism was the development of a 'Christianised ideology of women's rights' alongside ideas of imperial feminism that 'were challenged, modified, and mediated' by the missionaries' relationships with Indigenous women.[131] Prevost's study focussed on missionary women working in British colonies in Africa during the early twentieth century. She argued that missionary feminism developed in parallel with women's rights movements in the British Metropole, and that the two movements influenced each other. This argument situates missionary feminism within the larger context of the women's movement in Britain.

In many ways, Charlotte Tippet embodied the concept of missionary feminism. Her decision to become a missionary was made independently of her family, though she did have to seek their permission to join the Training Home. Often throughout her career she was on own and carrying out tasks on her own initiative, enjoying a higher degree of agency than she experienced while working in England. However, she also embodied the limitations of this

[129] Brian Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930*, Oxford, UK, Clarendon Press, 1988, p.1.
[130] Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England,* p.1.
[131] Prevost, *The Communion of Women*, p.8; Alison Twells, "Review of The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole", *Victorian Studies*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2012, p.344.

feminism. Her career was defined by obedience and submission to the work of Christ, an obedience and submission she taught to those that she evangelised.

Despite the challenges that come with labelling missionaries as feminists, the missionary movement did provide missionary women with more autonomy than was, perhaps, generally permissible in Britain. Though it is important not to forget the primary goal of the missionaries, it is still possible to examine how the missionary movement granted women some freedoms that were unavailable to them in the metropole. At the heart of all missionary activity was the goal of conversion, yet, through this goal, a form of feminism does emerge.

Conclusion

Women started out as a minority within the mission field. The few women that were missionaries were missionary wives. The active recruitment of single women as missionaries marked mission societies' recognition of the unique role women missionaries played within the mission field. They were more easily able to evangelise to women and children, a group that had previously been unavailable to the male missionaries in China. As single women, they were able to work away from the responsibilities of missionary wives, which, in turn, made them a valuable asset to mission societies. By the turn of the twentieth-century women missionaries came to outnumber male missionaries in China. There is a chance that the recruitment of single women in China took place at a faster rate than in other locales, possibly due to the influence of the CIM, FES, and the CEZMS, however, further research is needed to verify this. The Chinese biblewomen proved to be a pervasive and essential part of proselytization efforts in China. Their inclusion in this project provided Chinese women with the opportunity to exercise greater agency, demonstrating that they were not passive participants in the process. The biblewomen also provided missionaries with another opportunity to manipulate the narrative, highlighting what they believed to be the success and necessity of the movement.

Upon their arrival in China, missionaries used their western ideology to interpret certain aspects of Chinese culture. This led to them equating marriage with practices such as slavery or trafficking. Under Chinese law, however, the transfer of women for marriage and concubinage was legal. Missionaries ignored this legal classification and condemned the practices as morally reprehensible. Missionaries believed that the introduction of Christianity to China would see these institutions and practices come to their natural end. Missionaries also commented on other practices that were harmful towards women such as footbinding, female infanticide, and opium use. While the campaigns by missionaries to end these practices may have had a positive impact on the women they were working with, they often over emphasised the legality and extent of these practices. In the case of opium addiction many missionaries were ignorant of, or chose to ignore, the role that British colonialism played within this phenomenon.

Vital to the mission project in China was the use of missionary literature and publication to highlight the dire life circumstances faced by Chinese women of all ages. Within this literature missionaries deliberately constructed the women and children of China as victims and as possessing a childlike vulnerability. This construction served as proof of the need for Christianity in China. It also helped to establish the moral authority of the missionary and served to legitimise and justify the presence of missionaries in China.

The concept of missionary feminism complicates the relationship that women missionaries had with feminism. On the one hand, they were a modernising force within China, bringing with them education and medicine. On the other hand, they were resistant to any form of modernity that was not compatible with their Christianity. By examining women missionaries through the lens of missionary feminism, it is possible to recognise their increased agency as feminists, yet, also acknowledge the limitations of their feminism. This creates a more nuanced understanding of the role and place of women missionaries. The following

chapter further examines this idea by outlining the concept of the Protestant rescue project through an examination of CMS missionary orphanage for girls in Hong Kong. This chapter also continues to engage with questions concerning the feminism and modernity of women missionaries.

Chapter Four: The Protestant Rescue Project and the Victoria Home and Orphanage

In 1888, Mrs Mary Ost and her husband Reverend John Ost, of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), opened the Victoria Home and Orphanage in Hong Kong. The home, explained Reverend Ost, was to provide 'boarding and education of the daughters of Chinese, whether orphans or not, and also for the reception and rescue of young girls who would otherwise in all probability be forced into a life of immorality.'[1] The Osts had arrived in Hong Kong in 1881 when Reverend Ost was appointed as vicar of the church of St Stephen's, the first church, established for Chinese worshippers, in Hong Kong by the CMS in 1865.[2] At the end of 1888, the CMS sent Miss Agnes Kate Hamper to help Mrs Ost run the home. The following year Miss Mary Louisa Ridley was also sent from London to join the Victoria Home and help in its running. When the Osts left Hong Kong in 1892 for the CMS's Pakhoi (Beihai) mission, it was Hamper and Ridley who took over the running of the home. Over its years of operation, the home became not only one of the largest missionary organisations in the colony but also a centre of the Protestant rescue project in Hong Kong.

Despite its size and influence, there are only a small number of academic studies of the Victoria Home. In her book *Bound to Emancipate*, historian Angelina Chin briefly uses the home as a point of comparison for the Po Leung Kuk, also known as the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, which was established in response to trafficking concerns in the colony of Hong Kong.[3] Susanna Hoe also mentions the Victoria Home in her book *The*

[1]Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report of the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[2] Mary Ost was the niece of John Shaw Burdon, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong). John Shaw Burdon was a Scottish former CMS missionary and served as bishop from 1874 to 1898. He died in 1907.
[3] Angelina Chin, *Bound to Emancipate: Working Women and Urban Citizenship in Early Twentieth-Century China and Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2012; 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong: a Case of the Po Leung Kuk in the 1930s', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2013, pp.135-157.

Private Life of Old Hong Kong as one of the many rescue centres set up by British women in Hong Kong.[4] The most substantial work on the home is Patricia Chiu's study of the history of girls' education in Hong Kong.[5] Her study interprets the home as a site of education and an extension of the growing presence of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong. Chiu explains how the home was founded and the early controversy over who was responsible for female education in Hong Kong. While Chiu acknowledges its role as a rescue centre, it is not the focus of her examination.

The Victoria Home's role as a rescue centre was key to its identity and purpose and as such was central to the Protestant rescue project in Hong Kong. Many of the girls that were admitted to the home were the alleged victims of slavery and trafficking. While the Registrar General, the British colonial official in charge of Chinese Affairs, was responsible for sending girls to the home, some also came to the home through missionary intervention and rescue.

In this chapter, I extend the scholarship to examine the Victoria Home's role in the Protestant rescue project, the women's missionary movement's defining ideology of rescue, while highlighting the expanding role of women within this project. The Victoria Home and its relationship with other rescue organisations in Hong Kong reveals a network of female leadership emerging within the colony and the wider missionary movement. Despite the mostly male leadership of the missionary movement, the Victoria Home and other rescue organisations that they interacted with were run almost exclusively by women, both married and single. Missionary women took a leading role in the rescue movement despite their apparently limited participation in political campaigns about the status of women and girls in Hong Kong. I also examine the role of Christian education in missionary claims of modernity in regard to Chinese

[4] Susannah Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 1991, p.173.
[5] Patricia P.K. Chiu, 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s)', in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, pp.47-64.

women and girls. The sources for this chapter consist mainly of the annual reports for the Victoria Home which were sent to London, as well as various correspondence between CMS officials, its missionaries and other members of the Anglican Church administration.

The Protestant Rescue Project

In the preface of his 1913 book, *How England Saved China*, John Macgowan, mentioned above, declared that it had been 'written with a purpose.' He was protesting the 'considerable numbers of Englishmen' who he believed, thought England should cease sending missionaries 'to the Heathen.'[6] He claimed that they had forgotten about the advantages Christian missionaries had brought with them to England 'when it was barbarous and uncivilised.' He cited the example of Livingstone and Africa as proof of the 'good' that missionaries do. Macgowan's preface sought to legitimise and justify his intervention in Chinese society.[7] This desire for legitimisation informed and influenced the composition of missionary literature and positioned missionary solutions to perceived threats to Chinese society as the only legitimate solution.

The missionary solution to this range of supposed threats to the social well-being of Chinese women and children is usually referred to as the Protestant rescue project. This project could be defined in two parts – a continual cycle of legitimisation and validation of the need for rescue, and the actual process of individual rescue. The project was not unique to the missionary movement in China; rather the project in China mirrored and resembled missionary movements and projects in other parts of the British Empire.

In England, the rescue movement was steeped in a Christian ideology that utilised the image of Christ as the Good Shepherd. This imagery saw homeless and destitute children cast

[6] Macgowan, *How England Saved China*, p.5.
[7] Macgowan, *How England Saved China*, p.5.

as ‘lambs to be fed or the lost sheep that needed to be found.’[8] Using this imagery ‘rescuers’ were able to cast themselves as the good shepherd protecting the children from the cold and from ‘wild beasts’, an analogy which could also act as a metaphor for sin and temptation.[9] While in England those that needed protecting were poor and destitute children, in China and Hong Kong the children of the Chinese were all regarded as needing to be rescued from the dark wilderness of ‘heathenism’. Historian Shirlee Swaine has described the child rescue movement as ‘a subset of [the] larger missionary enterprise’; indeed this is true for the rescue movement in China and Hong Kong.[10]

The child rescue movement in England used literature and magazines to portray destitute children as needing to be ‘saved’ by good Christians. Using the magazines of such rescue organisations as Dr Barnardo’s Homes and the Anglican Waifs and Strays Society, as well as the works of prominent authors such as Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Barret Browning, child rescue organisations positioned themselves as the saviours of the destitute children of England. Children, who they believed, had been left out of the ‘warmth’ of Christianity by rapid urbanisation and abandonment.[11] Through their own magazines and journals, missionaries did the same. Frequently missionary journals were filled with article titles such as ‘Our Poor Little Sisters in China’ and ‘The Girl who Nobody Wanted’. These stories were about the suffering of young girls in Hong Kong and China and how Christianity had helped them overcome their circumstances.[12] The stories were designed to gain the support, monetary and otherwise, of people in England for the missionary movement.

---

[8] Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2010, p.26.
[9] Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race, Empire*, p.26.
[10] Shirlee Swaine, ‘Centre and Periphery in British Child Rescue Discourse’, in Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy (eds), *Rethinking Colonial Histories: New and Alternative Approaches*, Melbourne, Australia, 2006, p.157.
[11] Shirlee Swaine and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire*, pp.33, 5-6.
[12] SOAS Library CIM 136 1892, *Guex*, ‘Our Poor Little Sisters in China’, p.12; SOAS Library CIM 168 1926, Florence Gooch, ‘The Girl who Nobody Wanted’, *China’s Millions*, 1926, p.12.

In China and Hong Kong missionaries believed that Christianity was the key to young children becoming 'useful' members of the empire, good followers of the Christian faith, and good wives and husbands. Missionaries in China, particularly women missionaries, took a special interest in the welfare of children, especially young girls who they believed were most at risk of being coerced into prostitution or a life of domestic drudgery. They argued that allowing practices such as footbinding and opium addiction lowered the status of girls in Chinese society and increased the chances of these young girls and women being coerced or even kidnapped into slavery and prostitution. This rhetoric and belief created for missionaries the platform of child rescue. The child rescue movement in China, India, and elsewhere mirrored the developing rescue movement in England which focused on the child as a citizen and their right to a childhood.

The rescue project in China opened out to also include women. For missionaries, women and children were seen as the most vulnerable members of Chinese society. By using their literature to emphasise the 'horror' of the Chinese woman's and girl's life, missionaries were able to construct a victimhood that garnered sympathy and support for the movement. The construction of victimhood also had another effect, it provided the missionary with moral authority. Historian Antoinette Burton, in her study of British feminists in India examined the way this moral authority resulted in the construction of an 'other'. Burton argued that depictions of '"Oriental" women as prisoners of harems, suffocated by religious custom and at the mercy of brutish husbands' was used by British women as 'proof' of the need to emancipate these women.[13] This created a narrative that in turn 'functioned to authorize British feminists and their movement as agents of the continued progress of civilization'.[14] Missionaries in China

[13] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p.63.
[14] Burton, *Burdens of History*, p.65.

used similar depictions of the 'enslaved' Chinese women in their literature, and when compared with the 'happier' Christian convert, acted to provide 'proof' that the solution was Christianity.

Feminists and missionaries in India were operating in a British colony whereas missionaries in China were not. Those based in India were able to directly petition the government in order to affect change, as was the case in the campaigns against *Sati*.[15] For missionaries in China, their capacity to directly petition governments was restricted due to missionary regulations and the colonial government's relationship with the Chinese people, the impact of this is explored in chapter six.

Education and Rescue in China and Hong Kong

Education was at the centre of the Protestant rescue project in China and Hong Kong. Historian Edward Yihua Xu described education as the foundation of what he called the 'evangelical trinity of church, school, and hospital', stating in his history of the American Protestant Episcopal China Mission that the mission 'began, succeeded, and ended with education'.[16] While the Victoria Home was established as a refuge for young Chinese girls who had been 'rescued', it also operated as a school. For many missionaries, Christian education was the key to obtaining more converts and widening their proselytization.

In a report on the state of Christian education in China, published in 1921-1922, it was noted that a Dr R. S. Brown started the first Christian school for Chinese students in Macao in 1839.[17] These early schools established by missionaries were not started for 'the promotion

[15] Sati was the Indian custom of widow burning that in the early nineteenth century drew criticism and protest from women missionaries and activist as well as various British officials. See Claire Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865*, New York, NY, Routledge, 2007, pp.65-91.
[16] Edward Yihau Xu, 'The Protestant Episcopal China Mission and Chinese Society', in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, p.26.
[17] The China Educational Commission was created to investigate the state of Christian education in China. The commission's board consisted of representatives from various missionary societies and educational institutions in China. The China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China: The Report of the China Educational Commission of 1921-1922*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1922, p.7.

of education for education's sake, but as an adjunct and aid to evangelization.'[18] It was noted that as the missionaries achieved their evangelisation goals the number of Christian schools increased until there were around 200,000 students enrolled. This figure bore 'testimony to the extent and power of the Christian movement.'[19] A similar growth happened in Hong Kong. Immediately after the first Opium War, during the period 1842-1858, there were six missionary societies or religious groups establishing schools in Hong Kong with the support of the new colonial government: the Morrison Education Society, American Baptist Society, London Missionary Society, the American Congregationalists, the CMS, and the Roman Catholics.[20] The annexation of Hong Kong and the imperial links it had with Britain helped to support the growing presence of missionaries and their networks in Hong Kong. Again, as in China, one of their key preoccupations was to use education as an aid to evangelisation.

One of the first schools in Hong Kong was opened by American Baptist missionaries Lewis and Henrietta Shuck, who opened a 'preaching hall' in 1842.[21] Henrietta Shuck described this hall as a school for boys. Henrietta was, according to her biographer, Baptist Pastor Jeremiah Bell Jeter, the first American female Baptist missionary to China and Hong Kong.[22] In 1842 in a letter to her father, she said they had opened 'the "Bazaar Baptist Chapel" [which] has formed a school consisting of twelve boys' overseen by Lewis Shuck.[23] Her following letters described the way that the school grew over time. However, the school did not survive past her death in 1844.

[18] The China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China*, p.20.
[19] The China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China*, pp.20-21.
[20] Alex Kammoon To, 'Challenges of Meeting the Other: Baptists Meeting the Education Needs of Hong Kong between 1842 and 1970', *Journal of European Baptist Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2016, p.6.
[21] Kammoon To, 'Challenges of Meeting the Other', p.7.
[22] J. B. Jeter, *Memoir of Mrs Henrietta Shuck, the first American female missionary to China*, Boston, MA, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1849.
[23] Jeter, *Memoir of Mrs Henrietta Shuck*, p.181.

The establishment of girls' schools happened on a similar trajectory to the establishment of boys' schools. As discussed in chapter one, the first school for Chinese girls was established in 1842 by Mary Aldersey and the Female Education Society, but Aldersey's example was quickly followed by others. Many of the early schools for girls were established by American missionaries. In 1849 a school for girls was established in Shanghai by Eliza Bridgman, a missionary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1859 Beulah Woolston, an American Methodist missionary, opened a boarding school for girls in Fuzhou.[24] Between the years 1847-1860 Protestant missionaries established 12 girls' schools throughout the treaty ports and by 1876 had over 2,000 students studying across 121 schools. According to historian Xiaoyi Liu, mission schools were so commonplace it was thought that they followed the churches and were a part of the church.[25]

In 1888, China Inland Mission (CIM) missionary Geraldine Guinness travelled through Hong Kong, where she spent a day, on her way to Shanghai. While in Hong Kong she was shown around by the London Missionary Society (LMS). On this tour she was introduced to some of the education work that was being carried out by various missionary societies. She was particularly interested in the work of women missionaries. She recounted the story of a 'Miss Roe', most likely Sarah Rowe, a missionary who worked both in Hong Kong and Poklo. According to Guinness, Rowe helped to superintend nineteen Chinese schools in Hong Kong which received funding from the British government that was dependent upon student achievement.[26] Guinness named three other missions that were working in Hong Kong with

[24] Xiaoyi Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911)', *Educational Journal*, Vol. 37, Nos 1-2, 2009, p.95.
[25] Xiaoyi Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911)', p.95.
[26] Geraldine Guinness, 'Mission Work in Hong Kong' in Lucy Guinness (ed.) *In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness in China*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1889, pp.28-29.

the LMS on education concerns: the CMS, the Berlin Foundling Society, and the Basel Mission.[27]

Yet, many schools struggled to retain their attendance due to Chinese suspicions of missionary activities. Missionary Margaret Burton in her book *The Education of Chinese Women* (1911) recounted some of the stories that followed Aldersey when she first started her school. She was apparently accused of 'murder[ing] all her own children, and now had designs on those of other people.'[28] One parent reportedly asked her child if she had been killed and brought back to life. According to Burton these rumours started because Aldersey carried a bottle of smelling salts with her when she went for a walk which the Chinese population believed to be her releasing 'evil spirits'.[29] Other impacts on enrolment included things like the missionary insistence that students' feet remain unbound.

The low attendance resulted in missionaries resorting to methods like indenture to enforce school attendance. Robert Mateer, in his biography of American Presbyterian missionary Julia Brown Mateer, described how this occurred. According to Mateer, it was a contract between the school and the child's parent. In the contract it said that the school was responsible for all the child's needs, both school supplies and healthcare, and that the mission would pay for the child's schooling. If the child were to run away, it was the father's responsibility to return the child to the school; should the father remove the child from the school, the father had to re-pay the associated funds for the child.[30] This was a practice used by the Lammermuir Party missionaries, as discussed in chapter two. By 1911, when Mateer's book was written, the practice of indenturing a child to a school was deemed to be 'unnecessary,

[27] Guinness, 'Mission Work in Hong Kong', p.29.
[28] Margaret Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, p.36.
[29] Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, p.36
[30] Robert Mateer, *Character-building in China: the life story of Julia Brown Mateer*, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, pp.41-42.

and long out of date.'[31] According to Mateer, the students were now 'eager to come' and 'never run away'.[32] Another strategy used by missionaries was to start schools for orphans and 'rescued' children like the Victoria Home and Orphanage, as is examined later in the chapter.

Despite these potential setbacks, missionary societies continued to establish schools and their numbers continued to grow. The mission schools in China were among some of the first to admit female students as part of their student body. By 1905 Protestant missionaries were teaching 7,168 girls in their primary schools and 2,761 in their secondary schools.[33] The schools were not recognised by the Chinese administration until 1906 when the Ministry of Education legally recognised missionary schools as education institutions, though they were still exempt from registration.[34] By the 1920s Protestant missionaries were running 6,599 elementary schools with a complete student body of 184,481, and 291 middle schools with a student body of 15,213. Catholic missionaries were similarly successful with 3,518 schools for boys, with a total student body of 83,757, and 2,615 girls' schools with a total student body of 53,283.

Aside from primary schools and high schools, missionaries also established a number of Christian colleges; in the period between 1910 and 1937 sixteen colleges had been founded or expanded. Thirteen of these were sponsored by Protestant missionaries with the other three sponsored by Catholic missionaries.[35] One prominent missionary was CMS missionary E. Judd Barnett. Barnett helped to found St Stephen's College for boys in 1903. He was also instrumental in the founding of St Stephen's Girls' College in 1907 and in the establishment of

[31] Mateer, *Character-building in China: the life story of Julia Brown Mateer*, p.42.
[32] Mateer, *Character-building in China: the life story of Julia Brown Mateer*, p.42.
[33] Peng Deng, *Private Education in Modern China*, Westport, CT, Praeger, 1997, p.70.
[34] Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937*, London, UK, Hutchison & Co, 1979, p.122.
[35] Deng, *Private Education in Modern China*, p.68.

Hong Kong University.[36] Aside from the proliferation of colleges and universities, establishing schools and homes for 'rescued' children was a core priority of the missionary education agenda.

The Victoria Home was not the first rescue centre to be established in Hong Kong. Prior to its establishment there were a number of other rescue institutes in Hong Kong. One of the earliest institutes was started by four French Catholic nuns at the request of the Apostolic Prefect of Hong Kong, Monsignor Augustine Forcade.[37] It was known as L'Asile de la Sainte Enfance, or Home of the Holy Childhood, and was established in 1848. A few years later in 1851 Reverend and Mrs Neuman of the Berlin Women's Missionary Society for China (est. 1849), started the Berlin Foundling Home for abandoned infants. Out of this initiative grew the Hildesheim Home for the Blind in 1890. This home was founded due to European fears that blind Chinese girls were being sold into what they believed was slavery.[38] As well as these smaller institutes a number of larger institutes were established as part of Hong Kong's expanding education projects.

The Female Diocesan School, established in 1863, developed out of the growing belief, that female education was needed in Hong Kong, although there were some who were not convinced. The desire to educate girls was first raised by Lydia Smith in her 1857 letter to the London-based committee of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. Smith was the wife of the first Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), George Smith, a former CMS missionary. She felt that a lack of Christian girls in the colony was tempting the converted young Chinese men back to 'heathenism'. She wrote to appeal for a teacher and funds to start

[36] The CMS had arrived in Hong Kong in 1862 and while Hong Kong acted as its base of operations it conducted the majority of its mission work on the mainland of China. Rosemary Keen, *Editorial Introduction to the Church Missionary Society.*

[37] The Apostolic Prefect was the senior priest in a missionary area that was not considered developed enough to be a full diocese of the Catholic Church.

[38] For more detailed histories of these rescue initiatives and homes see Susanna Hoe, 'Miss Eyre Provides a Refuge' in *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong, Hong Kong*, Oxford University Press, 1991, pp.169-183.

a girls' school in the colony. The so-called 'experiment' in girls' education gradually evolved into a boarding school which opened formally and in a permanent location in 1863 as the Diocesan Native Female Training School, known later as the Diocesan Girls' School.[39] The school did not attract sufficient female students and was later extended into wings: one catering for boys and another that provided for girls.[40]

The Diocesan Boys School, also known as the Diocesan Home and Orphanage, was officially opened in 1870.[41] Notably, in the orphanage's original proposal it was to cater for both sexes, and appeared to prioritise the abandoned children of European men over the children of the Chinese. It was to be run 'on the principles of well-known Orphan Asylums in England.'[42] As a result, the school was more about protecting the reputations of European fathers as opposed to helping the Chinese children in the colony. Reverend Ost, in his role as vicar of St Stephens, was one of the men who oversaw the running of the school. While the Diocesan Boys' School taught both girls and boys, only boys were allowed to board at the school.[43] The Osts provided housing for those girls who lived too far away from the school to commute every day as regular day scholars.[44] Both initiatives demonstrated the centrality of imperialism in the lives of Hong Kong missionaries as both were supported by the colony's British government.

While both the Diocesan schools focussed on education they did not have a rescue function. The first home to be established solely for the rescue of Chinese girls and women

[39] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/C CH/O 12, 'Orphanage for Destitute European and Other Children', 1869.
[40] See Patricia Pok-kwan Chiu, ''A position of usefulness': gendering history of girls' education in colonial Hong Kong (1850s-1890s)', *History of Education*, vol. 37, no. 6, 2008, pp.789-90.
[41] Fung Yee Wang and Chan-Yeung Mo Wah Moira, *To Serve and To Lead: A History of the Diocesan Boys' School Hong Kong*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2009, p.7.
[42] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/C CH/O 12, 'Orphanage for Destitute European and Other Children', 1869.
[43] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1890, 'Diocesan Home and Orphanage Annual Report 1888-1889', 1890.
[44] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1890, 'Diocesan Home and Orphanage Annual Report 1888-1889', 1890.

was the Po Leung Kuk in 1880. Also referred to as the Society for Protection of Women and Children it was founded in response to criticisms surrounding the employment of *mui tsai*. The Po Leung Kuk was the responsibility of the Office of the Registrar General, and the Protector of Chinese. This department was formed in 1844 and was responsible for 'Chinese Affairs'. While it was founded by the British Colonial authorities, the Po Leung Kuk was managed by members of the Chinese elite and acted to reduce the number of women and children being sold, and to provide shelter for *mui tsai*, prostitutes and other women who had suffered some form of abuse.[45] The Po Leung Kuk's aim was to prevent 'household abuse' as well as impede the transfer of girls from domestic service into brothel prostitution by providing women and girls with a place to seek refuge from abuse and disputed transfers.[46] The Chinese mangers possessed limited powers to investigate alleged abuses. Their main aim was to facilitate respectable marriages for girls who lived in the home.[47] Again the close relationship between the institute, missionary goals, and the colonial government highlights the association missionaries had with imperialism.

Another school that provided a refuge for young girls, albeit later than the Victoria Home, was the Eyre Refuge which was opened in 1898 by Miss Lucy Eyre. She was a British missionary who was affiliated with the Female Education Society. Before opening the refuge, she had helped to subsidise the Hildesheim Home and had worked with another missionary, Miss Johnstone, at the Fairlea School (discussed below). Eyre had also established the Hong Kong branch of the Young Women's Christian Association in 1893.[48] According to historians

[45] Chin, 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong', p.135.
[46] Chin, *Bound to Emancipate*, pp.40-41.
[47] Elizabeth Sinn, 'The Protection of Women in 19th Century Hong Kong' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, ZED Books, 1994, p.163.
[48] Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong, Hong Kong*, p.174; Stuart Heaver, 'The Helena May turns 100: how an exclusive women's club earned its place in Hong Kong's history', *Post Magazine*, 20 February 2016, http://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/1913888/helena-may-turns-100-how-exclusive-womens-club-earned-its, Accessed 19 April 2017.

Philip Wickeri and Ruiwen Chen, the home 'was designed to rescue destitute and "fallen women" (prostitutes, *mui tsai* and concubines) in the local society.'[49] The establishment of the refuge was the catalyst for the development of St Mary's Church and parish, closer to the home, as the large number of women at the refuge made travel to St Stephen's for Sunday services impractical.[50] The refuge did not survive after the death of its founder, Lucy Eyre in 1912.

The Victoria Home and Orphanage

Despite the Victoria Home supporting similar missionary and colonial goals for Hong Kong, the early establishment of the home was characterised by conflict. When the Osts arrived in the parish of St Stephen's they found the Female Education Society under Margaret Johnstone had already established a rescue home for young girls, the Fairlea School. The Fairlea School was opened in 1880 and was intended 'to house homeless girls and to seclude lowest class girls completely within the missionaries' teaching, away from bad influences at home.'[51] The school functioned as 'refuge, a new home'.[52] According to historian Patricia Chiu, the opening of the Victoria Home marked a period of discord between the Female Education Society and the CMS. The Osts clashed with Johnstone over who was responsible for girls' education in the parish of St Stephens, where the school was situated, and where Reverend Ost was the vicar. Reverend Ost believed that the Fairlea School should have been under his supervision; several members of his congregation had their daughters enrolled in the school and Ost believed he should personally oversee their education.[53] The Female Education Society opposed this idea, and Johnstone refused to work under the Osts' supervision.[54]

[49] Philip L. Wickeri and Ruiwen Chen, 'Contextualization and the Chinese Anglican Parish: A Case Study of St. Mary's Church, Hong Kong (1912-41)' in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*, Hong Kong, HK, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, p.136.
[50] Wickeri and Chen, 'Contextualization and the Chinese Anglican Parish', p.136.
[51] Chiu, ''A position of usefulness'', p.801.
[52] Chiu, ''A position of usefulness'', p.802.
[53] Chiu, 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s)', pp.60-61.
[54] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1885, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 1884.

The dispute was compounded by the CMS's parent committee in London which was confused as to the Fairlea School's mission. The committee believed that the Female Education Society was running a boarding school similar to those found in England. It was Burdon, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong) and Mary Ost's uncle, who clarified the confusion. In a letter to Christopher Fenn, the London Secretary of the CMS, Burdon wrote, '[the] Boarding School [was] of the rescue poor class'[55] He was also careful to distance Johnstone from the CMS, 'She brings them [the girls] on Sunday morning to St Stephen's, but she is in no other way connected with the C.M.S. mission.'[56] At this point, he also voiced his support for a rescue institute to be included as a part of the CMS's portfolio of projects:

> The matter seems to me to be of an exceedingly simple nature. A girls' school is essential to a mission but it must be an integral part of the mission. This is the arrangement of Female Education agents in Foochow and [unintelligible] and Osaka and I suppose elsewhere…. Let the F.E.S continue the work they are doing, but let them be separated from the C.M.S… let a lady be associated with Mrs Ost to carry on the female work of the mission.[57]

However, despite support from the CMS for a school like Johnstone's, the Osts did not wait for an official response, and on 1 March 1888 they opened the Victoria Home and Orphanage under the matronage of Mrs Ost.

The Victoria Home began with just six girls, two of whom had been entrusted to the care of the school by the Registrar General. In the home's first annual report for 1888-1889, Reverend Ost explained the reason behind the institution's name,

[55] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1886, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 6 July 1886.
[56] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1886, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 6 July 1886.
[57] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1886, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 6 July 1886.

> It takes its name, Victoria, not from the city in which it is situated, but in commemoration of Jubilee year of our most Gracious Majesty. A sovereign whose noble life and womanly virtues have made her just honoured throughout the world, and whose example many of its inmates will, we trust, learn to follow.[58]

The invocation of Queen Victoria also speaks to the maternalistic nature of the home. By using the womanly values of Queen Victoria, a mother of nine children, as a role model for the girls in the home, Ost was advocating for the centrality of childrearing and domestic duties within the ideal Christian woman. These ideas are central to maternalism. By the end of the first year, the home had twenty-eight students. Of these students nine were the daughters of Christians, presumably parishioners at St Stephen's, who were paid for by their parents; six were orphans, who, except for one, were entirely dependent on the school; the remaining thirteen were entrusted to the care of the home by the Registrar General.

The invocation of Queen Victoria, a monarch of a large empire, also brings to the fore the idea of the civilising powers of Christianity, for both the young and the old. This was a common theme of evangelisation. A story published by W. Fyfe Laughton at Liang-Chau in 1892, continues this idea. Laughton suggested that some older Chinese women may have converted to Christianity out of fear of their impending death. A Mrs Hwa, who was 77 years old, told Laughton she 'still had JESUS wrapped up in her heart', and had given up being a vegetarian and begun eating meat. He described her as 'a dear old lady' who 'lays her hand in my dear wife's and says, 'O how I love you.' Mrs Hwa had two sons, both university-educated, who, explained Laughton, wondered why their mother, as respectable person, would join a

[58] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report of the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.

foreign religion. His concluding comment, made reference to the most compelling of reasons, from a Christian perspective: 'We trust we may meet her in heaven.'[59]

For missionaries, the purpose of telling stories like this was to demonstrate the good work of the movement. If missionaries could convince wealthy women like Mrs Hwa and Mrs Ahok (Chapter three) that they needed Christianity it was proof of the want for Christianity in China as well as its inherent goodness as a civiliser. It was also proof of the necessity of converting women. Jennie Willing of the Women's Christian Temperance Movement wrote:

> In evangelizing the women, we believe that the Women's Foreign Missionary Societies do the most effective work toward the enlightenment and intellectual uplifting of the peoples upon whom their labors are expended.[60]

Willing believed that while Christianity was the 'most potent civilizer' its progress in a country could be measured only by the 'woman condition'.[61]

From the outset, there were concerns that the Victoria Home would be perceived as a rival to the Chinese-run Po Leung Kuk. This potential clash of responsibility resolved itself. In Ost's first annual report, he wrote, 'the fact that there are 13 girls with us sent by the Registrar General, ought to be sufficient proof that the Government does not regard the Institution [the Po Leung Kuk] in this light.'[62]According to Reverend Ost, the government regarded the Po Leung Kuk as a temporary solution for rescued women and children, 'the Refuge established by the Government will be but a temporary shelter for women and girls rescued by the agents of the Society [the Society for the Protection of Women and Children].'[63]

---

[59] W. Fyfe Laughton, 'Seeking by all Means to Save Some', *China's Millions,* 1892, p. 20.
[60] Willing, 'The Intellectual Uses of the Women's Foreign Missionary Work', p.215.
[61] Willing, 'The Intellectual Uses of the Women's Foreign Missionary Work', p.215.
[62] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report of the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[63] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report of the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.

Another point of contention for the home was tuition fees. The home housed girls of Chinese and Eurasian parentage as well as Christians and non-Christians. In the year 1889-1890, the Victoria Home housed fifty-five girls in total, eight Eurasian girls and forty-seven Chinese girls. Only nineteen girls (three Eurasian and sixteen Chinese) were paid for in full or partially by their parents. In contrast, a total of thirty-six destitute or orphan girls (five Eurasian and thirty-one Chinese) were housed.[64] The nearby Fairlea School offered free education for all the girls that were accepted into the school. Meanwhile, the Osts believed that the parishioners at St Stephen's with daughters at the home should pay for their education and that only those who were rescued or destitute should receive free education. This contention added to the existing tensions with the Fairlea School.[65]

The Osts' belief that the daughters of Christians should pay for their education was because of the home's emphasis on the rescue of those they deemed to be victims of 'slavery'. In the second annual report Ost wrote, 'we have given shelter to many young girls who have been committed to our care by the Registrar General – girls who had been sold into slavery, or what is worse than slavery. We have at present in the Home 16 of such girls.'[66] Ost recorded that they received a further six girls sent to them by the Registrar General as well as two girls sent to them from a rescue home in America, though no further details about these girls were recorded.

The Victoria Home was established and funded under the colonial government's grant-in-aid scheme which allowed the Home to maintain a degree of independence from government control. The scheme was mainly used to help develop industries such as education and health.

[64] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890.
[65] Chiu, 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s), p.60.
[66] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890.

The Victoria Home being under the grant-in-aid scheme meant that the students had to submit to examination by the Inspector of Schools. This also meant that the Victoria Home appears in the annual colonial education reports, which recorded, among other things, enrolments and attendance, examination results, grant-in-aid given to the home, and percentage of subject passes.[67] Again, this is evidence of the close connection between missionaries and imperialism and of the support colonial governments gave to the missionary movement.

The grant-in-aid scheme also allowed students at the home to compete for educational prizes. In 1888, Ost remarked that four of the home's girls qualified to compete for the Belilios Prize, a prestigious academic prize, and that one girl was awarded Second Prize,

> We have been informed that she stood easily first in Chinese composition, and that she also did remarkably good papers in translation and in geography, but her arithmetic was very weak. This, however, is not remarkable, seeing she had only commenced the study of this subject seven months previous to the examination.[68]

The prize presentation was written up in a local English-language Hong Kong newspaper, *The China Mail*. Following the prize presentation, Bishop Burdon commented on the home and its success,

> In order to bring young girls such as they had here [the Victoria Home] under moral influences they must be in some way under the influence of religious people… Only those who had a sense of religion would take the conscientious care which was required in the training of children.[69]

[67] See Appendix 3 for full details.
[68] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[69] 'The Victoria Home and Orphanage', *The China Mail*, 24.01.1889, p.3.

Burdon's comments also reflected on the home's commitment to the mission of conversion. The prize presentation at the home often featured in the local newspapers *The China Mail*, *The Hong Kong Weekly Press*, and *The Hong Kong Daily Press* over the course of the home's operation.

In 1888 the prizes were presented by Lady Marion Denison des Voeux (nee Pender), the wife of Governor George William des Voeux (1887-1891). Des Voeux came to the colony of Hong Kong in 1887 in the role of Governor having previously served as Governor of New-Foundland (Canada). He travelled to Hong Kong on the same ship as a key figure of the Protestant Rescue movement in England, Dr Barnardo, who was on his way to Canada.[70] In the same year that des Voeux arrived in Hong Kong, the Ordinance for Better Protection of Women and Children was passed by the Hong Kong legislative council. This ordinance made the medical examination of prostitute women mandatory. Des Voeux was not supportive of this measure, writing in his memoir, 'I hold, in fact, that the policy which is intended for the protection of women is the cause of immeasurably more injury to them.'[71] It is possible that des Vouex saw homes such as the Victoria Home, which sought to give women and girls an education that may prevent them from entering prostitution, as an alternative to legislation like the Ordinance for Better Protection of Women and Children. Indeed, Lady des Vouex saw the value of the work of such homes. In his memoir, des Voeux wrote of her involvement with other homes that engaged in similar work to the Victoria Home.[72]

It was not long before other women missionaries joined the Osts at the Victoria Home. In October 1888 Miss Agnes Kate Hamper was sent to Hong Kong by the London-based parent committee that managed the China mission. The parent committee told Hamper that her job

[70] George William des Voeux, *My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, New-Foundland, and Hong Kong with Interludes*, Vol. II, London, UK, John Murray, 1903, p.186.
[71]des Voeux, *My Colonial Service*, p.265.
[72] des Voeux, *My Colonial Service*, p.277.

was to work with the Chinese women of Hong Kong 'both Christian and Heathen'. However, they did not provide Hamper with specific details of her work, explaining:

> It is not thought desirable to state or decide at present, with any definiteness, how you will ultimately be employed. Mr and Mrs Ost have been requested as to arrange your work that the fullest scope may be given to all your capabilities as they develop themselves.[73]

However, she was instructed that her first and immediate task was to acquire a mastery of the Chinese language, presumably Cantonese.[74] During the following year, 1889, Miss Mary Louisa Ridley was also sent out from London to assist in the running of the home. Again, like Hamper, her first task was to learn Cantonese, of which she wrote:

> I do not do much else but study. I am standing as it were on the brink of a wonderful ocean – this difficult, interesting, and fascinating language; just playing with a few of the drops… You who stay at home and think it is like studying French or German make a great mistake![75]

Hamper's instructions were couched in a hierarchy of racialized 'otherness' as delineated by assessments of intellect and 'temperament':

> The Chinese women may not be so impressionable intellectually as the Japanese or the Tamils of South India, nor as apt to manifest religious emotion as the Arabs or the

[73] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH/L5 pp.274-5, *Instructions to Miss Hamper*, October 1888.
[74] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH/L5 pp.274-5, *Instructions to Miss Hamper*, October 1888.
[75] Mary Ridley, 'A Plea for China', *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 1890, p.155.

> Africans; but they have a solid fund of practical good sense and quiet perseverance, and they are responsive to deep and true affection and kindness.[76]

This hierarchy categorised Chinese women as not outwardly expressive of religious emotion, a characteristic that would, perhaps in the committee's mind, hinder the conversion mission. However, it also conceded that Chinese women possessed some admirable attributes. Good sense and perseverance were the same qualities that were looked for in missionaries; the singling out of these qualities implies that missionaries were looking for converts to mirror themselves. The emphasis on kindness and affection is indicative, I believe, of the maternalistic nature of the women's missionary movement. This maternalism manifested itself in a desire on behalf of the missionaries to form a community with the Chinese women.[77]

This sentiment was echoed by Ridley in a letter she wrote telling of what she learnt at a missionary conference in Shanghai in 1890. The letter was initially published in the Newsletter of the Gleaners' Union, a group of fervent supporters of the CMS, and subsequently in the *Church Missionary Gleaner,* the journal of the CMS:

> I wish I could make you love these poor people as I am learning to love them. They are not such a loveless race as many suppose. There are some very fine characters among those with whom I have come in contact, and the women and children are modest, gentle, and intelligent, and many of the latter really pretty.[78]

Historian Karen Vallgarda, in her study of Danish missionaries in India, argues that missionaries framed their relationships with Indian children in terms of love and affection in order to legitimise their mission, even if that affection was not necessarily reciprocated by the

[76] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH/L5 pp.274-5, *Instructions to Miss Hamper,* October 1888.
[77] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH/L5 pp.274-5, *Instructions to Miss Hamper*, October 1888.
[78] Ridley, 'A Plea for China', p.155.

children themselves.[79] In the case of Ridley she is using love to garner the support of the British public back in the metropole. Just as Hamper's instructions encouraged her to form a community with the Chinese women she worked with, Ridley appears to appeal to supporters back home to form a community, and indeed a family, with the Chinese women underpinned by love. This community formed an integral part of the Protestant rescue project.

This manipulation of the idea of love was a common trope among missionaries. In letters written by a young Geraldine Guinness, a missionary for the China Inland Mission, and published by her sister Lucy Guinness in 1889 in a book called *In the Far East,* the idea of love is again invoked.[80] These letters document her voyage to China and recall her first encounter with Chinese people when her ship stopped in Penang on the Malay Peninsula on its way to Shanghai. Guinness wrote: 'It is wonderful! We are inundated with Chinese… *Real* Chinese, they are! With shaven heads, long pigtails, and yellow skins – so strange! They talk and chatter away to one another and look so friendly, smiling at us, - and we do want to *love* them from the first.'[81] This desire to love Chinese people was a common sentiment for missionaries and was evidently regarded as a duty, if not always a spontaneous response. Guinness also wrote that it was a privilege for her to work among the Chinese.[82]

Similar to the construction of victimhood that missionaries used to legitimise their presence in China (as discussed in chapter three), the construction of community was used to ensure the continuation of the Protestant rescue project in China. Barbara Rowenstein uses the idea of 'emotional communities' to identify the arbitrary bonds that are constructed to connect groups of people.[83] While it is impossible to assess whether the missionaries and their

[79] Karen Vallgarda, 'Tying Children to God with Love: Danish Mission, Childhood, and Emotions in Colonial South India', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015, pp.595-613.
[80] Guinness (ed.) *In the Far East*.
[81] Geraldine Guinness, 'A sudden introduction to China' in Lucy Guinness (ed.) *In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness in China*, London, UK, Morgan and Scott, 1889, p.14.
[82] Guinness, 'A sudden introduction to China', p.14.
[83] Barabara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, June, 2002, p.842.

supporters felt a genuine love towards the women and children of China, it is possible to determine the extent to which they manipulated the idea of love and family.

When the Osts first established the home, they believed that the benefits of the home went beyond providing shelter and education to rescued girls. In the first annual report of the home Ost wrote, 'This is a Home and School where girls come under the *softening influences of family life*, [emphasis added]'.[84] The emphasis on the idea of family and the community it created was framed as the ultimate salvation of these young girls and the key to turning them into 'useful' members of society. The idea of rescuing young children and making them 'useful' was at the core of the child rescue movement. It is clear that the Osts believed in the redemptive, domestic functions and intimacies of the home, a place where the virtues of family and Christianity would speak for themselves. Again, it reiterates the prominence of maternalism and the centrality of the idea of Christian love by placing the domestic role of women and the home at the centre of rescue.

This is supported by later comments made by Ost in the annual reports. In the second annual report, Ost wrote about three girls who had been refused readmission, 'feeling that their influence was not for good'.[85] While Ost did not comment on why their influence was considered to be bad, it might be assumed that the girls were not receptive to the Christian education that the home provided.[86] The behaviour of the girls was commented on in most of the annual reports. In the same report, Ost wrote, 'As regards to the conduct of the children I have very little to say. The elder girls have uniformly been amenable to discipline and have

[84] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report of the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[85] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J.B Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890.
[86] Information about baptism and conversion was kept over the years that the home was operational, see appendix 3.

given but little trouble.'[87] Ost conceded that the misbehaviour of the younger girls in the home was in fact due to their age as opposed to any negative character trait, 'younger ones would hardly be children if there were not occasionally quarrels and naughtiness among so large a number.'[88]

It could be argued that framing the home as similar to any other home was a way of establishing the Chinese girls as not that different from young English girls. This manipulation of the idea of family made the idea of a rescue home in China relatable to a family in London and elicited a sympathetic reaction. This reaction was then used to garner support for the home, both morally and financially in the form of donations. In the first annual report, Ost wrote,

> Through the kindness of certain friends here and in England, the support of 4 of these destitute children is guaranteed, and as soon as our needs are more widely known, we trust other friends will be found willing to support individual children by making an annual contribution of the sum necessary ([HK]$25).[89]

Ost also commented that the expenses of the orphanage at this time were not 'beyond those necessary for food and clothing' as the matron gave her services free of charge and the majority of the housework was completed by the girls.[90] For the year 1888-1889 Ost recorded that the school received HK$270.53 in donations. These donations came from members of the public, most of whom were men, as well as a donation of HK$100 from the Bishop of Victoria, John Burdon.[91]

---

[87] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J.B Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890.
[88] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J.B Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890.
[89] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[90] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889.
[91] For total amount of donations received by the Home under the management of Ost, and his successor Miss Hamper see appendix 2.1.

The other primary source of income for the home was a sponsorship scheme that was established by the Osts and endured for the life of the home. This sponsorship scheme allowed a member of the public either in England or in Hong Kong to sponsor a student at the school for one year for an annual contribution. This contribution provided the student with food and clothing. Nearly every person who subscribed to this sponsorship scheme was female, and the list included organisations such as the Young Women's Christian Association. In the year 1892 (Figure 4), Ridley, one of the workers at the home, was included in the list. In the same year, a sponsor was listed as 'The Misses Hamper', who were quite possibly Hamper and her sisters. In 1898, a Mrs Beauchamp and a Mrs Horder were recorded as sponsors, and it is likely they were Mrs Ost's sister who were also missionaries based in China.[92] These connections highlight the close network of women who were associated with and connected to the home.[93]

[92] UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A.K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1898; Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. lv, London, UK, Church Missionary Society, 1916, p.300.
[93] For more on the Vitoria Home Sponsor ship scheme see Appendix 2.2.

Student	Sponsor
A Kam	"Daisy Band" Bournemouth
A Din	Miss Major
A Tonġ	Miss Lea
A Yau	Mrs Ritson
Chau Kwai	Kensington, Y.W.C.A. Bath
Chau Lăn	Miss Hamper
Ho Sui	Mrs Ritson
Ho Ying	Miss Pratt
Kō Mui	Mrs Ritson
Lai Wān	Mrs Bickerdyke
Lin Hō	Miss Ridley
Lin Yau	Finchley, Sunday School
Li Ying	Blandford, Y.W.C.A.
Luk Mui	Mrs Burrows
Ma Ka	Miss Attlee
Shau Yan	The Misses Hamper
Shun Hi	Miss Longcope
Tsoi Kam	Miss Major

Figure 4: Victoria Home sponsorship for 1892.Source: Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage,* 1892, p.7.

The Osts' association with the home ended in 1892 when they were relocated to the CMS mission in Pakhoi.[94] Over Mrs Ost's four year tenure, the Victoria Home had taken in thirty girls considered to be of the 'rescue class', and at the time of her departure, the home housed twenty of these girls.[95] Following the Osts' departure, it was Hamper who stepped up

[94] Chiu, 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s)', p.60.
[95] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1891, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn 1891.

to the run the home with the help of Ridley. During the time that the home was run by Mrs Ost all of the annual reports for the home, the primary correspondence and archival sources were written by Reverend Ost. However, when Hamper stepped up, she wrote the annual reports for the home, providing more insight into the female leadership of the home.

Miss Hamper and the Victoria Home

It was under the direction of Hamper that the Victoria Home became a home solely for the rescue of destitute and orphan Chinese girls. This decision came after concerns were raised about different classes of girls mixing. Previously the Victoria Home accepted girls of both a Christian and 'heathen' background. Bishop Burdon wrote in 1891 on this mixing of rescue girls with the daughters of Christian families, arguing that the 'mixture of the different classes I considered very dangerous but under Mrs Ost's vigorous management no harm seemed to come'.[96] According to Burdon, not everyone agreed with Mrs Ost, and when Hamper took over the running of the Home 'she expressed her "conscientious" objection to carrying on the school on the same lines'.[97] From this point on the girls were separated, with the Victoria Home concentrating only on those who had been rescued and the neighbouring Fairlea School taking in the Christian girls. The Female Education Society ran the Fairlea School, up until the society's disbandment in 1899. Upon this disbandment, all missionaries and properties of the Female Education Society were absorbed by the CMS.[98] The Fairlea School remained an independent school but under the CMS until 1935 when it merged with the Victoria Home to become the Heep Yunn School for Girls.

Both the instances of integration and segregation speak to the control and influence of Ost and Hamper over the running of the home. During Ost's time concerns about the mixing

[96] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1891, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 1891.
[97] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1891, J. S. Burden to C. Fenn, 1891.
[98] Chiu, 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s)', p.58.

of the girls was expressed from the highest possible authority in the mission, the bishop. However, Ost was not forced to separate the girls and in fact appears to have been praised for her management. When Hamper took over the home, she was afforded the freedom to run and organise the home her way, including reversing existing arrangements. When Hamper segregated the girls, she too exerted significant control and influence. The segregation of the students also appears to mark the end of the period of discord between the Fairlea School and the Victoria Home. This segregation is a sign of the racialised hierarchy of rescue and exposes the façade of love that was espoused by the missionaries.

The first report that Hamper wrote was for the year 1892. She opened this with a reaffirmation of the purpose of the school, that it was for the rescue of destitute Chinese girls. Hamper started the year with fifty girls, of whom four left to be married, six returned to the care of their guardian, and a further eleven left for unspecified reasons. Of the girls that the Home received through rescue Hamper wrote,

> Many sad stories come to light of the treatment some of these girls have met with. Some have been found by our English Authorities on board Steamers bound for San Francisco, and other ports; sold perhaps for a high sum of money. Others have been little slaves in Hongkong, and have been so cruelly treated by their mistresses that they have run away, and by some means have found their way to the Registrar General, through whose kindness they have been rescued from a life of misery.[99]

Her inclusion of information about individual students at the school was the first time that details about the school's approach to rescue were disclosed. These facts threw light on the

[99] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Miss A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1892.

lives of the 'rescue girls' that were taken in by the home and demonstrate the interpersonal relationship that the home's missionaries formed with these girls.

Throughout the 1890s the Victoria Home took in a steady stream of these so-called 'rescue girls', whose stories were sometimes highlighted in the annual reports. The 1894 report recounted the rescue of a girl whose older brother had allegedly threatened to sell her to satisfy his opium addiction. According to Hamper, the girl's mother 'besought some neighbours to bring her to our school, that she might be saved from the misery of slave girl's life.' In the same year, the school rescued two young girls who had been sold so that their father could cover his fare to Singapore.[100] In 1897, the Victoria Home received San Ts'io who was twenty-two years old. According to Hamper, San Ts'io was originally from Annam (Vietnam) but was stolen from her home when she was very young and as a result did not remember her name. Her earliest memories were of working as a 'slave girl in a shop keeper's family in Pakhoi'. She was, according to Hamper, sold as a partial payment for a debt and ran away after the new family treated her cruelly.[101]

The most intriguing record of the girls who were rescued and brought to the Victoria Home comes from a list of inmates for 1898. The handwritten list contained details such as a girl's name, her age, the date of her arrival, and the name of the person who brought her to the Home. It also contained details about why someone was brought to the Home; this, in turn, revealed information about how missionaries sought to intervene in the 'traffic in girls' beyond just running rescue homes. For example, in June 1897, Hamper admitted Wong Mui, age twenty, to the home. Wong Mui was described as a slave girl who worked in Pakhoi, where the Osts were sent, and had been rescued by missionaries of the CMS before being brought to the

[100] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Miss A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1894.
[101] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Miss A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1897.

home. In April of the following year Hamper, admitted Wong Kui, age seventeen, to the home.[102] Wong Kui had been sold to San Francisco where she had been rescued by Presbyterian missionaries who returned her to Hong Kong. Wong Kui only stayed at the home until she was married.[103] While missionaries at the Victoria Home did not seem to go out and rescue girls themselves, it is clear that others took it upon themselves to do so.

The list revealed the variety of ways that girls ended up at the Victoria Home. For the most part, they were brought in by relatives or were sent by the Registrar General. Most had been sold or employed as *mui tsai*. There is one story that differed from the rest and warranted a mention in the annual report for 1898. In this story, a young girl was admitted to the Victoria Home in May 1898 from the Lunatic Asylum. According to Hamper's report, her 'conduct was such, that we felt her influence was doing great harm in the school.'[104] Hamper summarised her story thus,

> She had been sent by her mistress to the Lunatic Asylum, on account of her violent fits of temper, and after some weeks of supervision was pronounced sane. Miss Ireland who was then acting as matron, being anxious to save the girl then asked us to take her in. We however found it impossible to keep her, and Miss Eyre (F. E. S) has kindly put her into the women's Home, where she is willing to do any kind of manual labour, but objects to book learning.[105]

[102] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899 ,A.K. Hamper, *List of inmates at the Victoria Home and Orphanage in 1898.*
[103] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A.K. Hamper, *List of inmates at the Victoria Home and Orphanage in 1898.*
[104] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *List of inmates at the Victoria Home and Orphanage in 1898*; Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphana*ge, 1898.
[105] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1898.

Hamper concluded that since the girl's removal the behaviour of the other inmates had improved.

The act of 'rescuing' shows the Victoria Home to be part of a wider network of missionary organisations within both Hong Kong and the international community. They received girls who were brought to them by members of the Chinese community as well as other missionaries. Their records show them interacting with the Po Leung Kuk; the home received girls from the Registrar General. They also interacted with Lucy Eyre who ran the Eyre refuge. The list of inmates also provides evidence that the missionaries were aware of international trafficking concerns in the story of Wong Kui who was brought to the home after being 'rescued' in San Francisco.

The Victoria Home continued to be a rescue home into the early twentieth century and in the year 1903 received eleven girls from the Po Leung Kuk. Among these girls was thirteen-year-old A Yuk who had been sold for HK$130 and ran away from her mistress on account of cruelty. Another girl A Mui, aged nine, had been betrothed and sent to live with her mother in law, according to Hamper's report 'the treatment she received at her [the mother-in-law] hands was so dreadful, that her neighbour smuggled her away, and took her back to her mother.' Her mother then brought her to the Victoria Home where she was later baptised.[106]

There are few archival records for the Victoria Home in the early twentieth century. Eugene Stock in his *History of the CMS* records that the Victoria Home in 1899 was moved from its original location in Hong Kong to Kowloon, one of the new territories ceded to Britain in 1898.[107] In 1907, *The Salisbury Times* reported that Hamper gave a talk about the CMS at a local church. She was probably at home on furlough and considering her retirement. Hamper

[106] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1904, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1903.
[107] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. lv, London, UK, Church Missionary Society, 1916, p.300.

stayed with the Victoria Home until 1909 when she retired from missionary service after seventeen years. Following her departure, the running of the home appears to be taken over by Miss A. K. Storr and Miss S. L. Horris who also wrote the annual reports.[108]

Christian Education, Chinese Women and Modernity

As well as being at the core of missionary endeavours in China, education was used by missionaries as an agent of modernity, shrouded in maternalism, for Chinese women. Many missionaries claimed that they were the first to educate Chinese women. To a degree this was true. Prior to the proliferation of missionary schools, the only women who were educated were those from wealthier families.[109] As an 1921-1922 Educational Commission report acknowledged, while schools for girls were a recent development it 'would be erroneous to assume that no woman received any education whatever in Ancient China.'[110] While education was aimed at sons in wealthy families, frequently the women of the family were permitted to join these classes. Yet, this still left a 'great mass of girls [who] received no training in the reading of books or writing of compositions.'[111]

The introduction of missionary schools for both boys and girls can be seen as the start of the modern education system in China. This is the argument taken up by historian Dan Cui who wrote, 'the origin and development of modern education in China were [sic] closely linked with many missionary educators, for their impact was most powerful.'[112] Later in his book Cui goes so far as to claim that in the establishment of female education in China 'British missionaries played the most important pioneering role.'[113] However, other scholars warn

[108] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 CH1/O 1915 *Women Missionaries of South China*, 1915.
[109] Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China', p.93.
[110] The China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China*, p.231.
[111] The China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China*, p.231.
[112] Dan Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development during the 1920's*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, 1998, p.151.
[113] Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries*, p.321.

against so simplistic an analysis. Liu writes that the evaluation of missionary contributions to 'the modernization progress of the post-Opium War era' is at best complicated.[114] While it is possible to say that missionaries helped to establish a modern school system in China that ultimately benefited Chinese women and girls, that school system was the product of Western expansionism.[115] Missionary schools, like the women's missionary movement, were couched in maternalistic ideas of the equality of women, yet, as the segregation and integration debate at the Victoria Home shows, the imperial reality of this idea was dominated by a hierarchy of race. This paradox is further complicated by the fact that missionary schools were first and foremost a tool of conversion.

In the case of schools like the Victoria Home, their identity as rescue schools further complicates the matter. Initially enrolling students of the so-called 'rescue class' was a way of gaining enrolments when attendance by other Chinese students was low. The use of indenture to assure student attendance raises questions about the willingness of Chinese girls to attend these schools and further supports the conclusion that the missionaries' main goal was conversion. Yet, the missionaries still maintained a rhetoric of 'rescue' that positioned themselves as the saviours of young girls. Again, like in instances of footbinding and opium use, this largely ignores the relevant cultural context and the agency of the Chinese girls involved. Despite this there were still some young girls who believed that these rescue schools 'saved' them.

Janet Lim was one of them. Lim was a *mui tsai*, that is a bonded female domestic servant. Lim credited a missionary school in Singapore as part of her escape and recovery from

[114] Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China', p.98.
[115] Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China', p.99.

her employment as a *mui tsai*..[116] Lim believed that she was originally from Hong Kong, but after being sold by her parents she ended up working as a *mui tsai* in Singapore. When she escaped from her employment she was placed in the Po Leung Kuk.[117] While at the Po Leung Kuk in Singapore, Lim was given the opportunity to attend the Church of England Zenana Missionary School where she was able to achieve the education her father had always desired for her. The school encouraged her to think about a possible career and in turn set her on the path to becoming a nurse.[118]

Stories like Lim's would have been utilised by missionaries to demonstrate the inherent good of missionary education and as a marker of the modernity that missionaries brought to China. However, these stories do not engage with the implicit paradox of Western expansionism and maternalism that also accompanied the establishment of these schools. They also do not acknowledge the role of Chinese advocates in the campaign for women's education.[119] Yet, it can also not be denied that missionary education projects allowed far more Chinese girls to have access to education than was previously possible. As Xiaoyi Liu writes: 'It brought the notion of women's education to the general public, furnished a prototype, and paved the way for the forthcoming national education campaign for women.'[120]

The concept of modernity in this period is hard to define. The Modern Girl around the World research group noted that while the concept of the 'Modern Girl' is a marker of

[116] Suzanne Miers, 'Mui Tsai Through the Eyes of the Victim: Janet Lim's Story of Bondage and Escape' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, Uk, Zed Books, 1994, pp.108-9.
[117] Angelina Chin's article 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong' provides an analysis of the Po Leung Kuk and how it operated more as an asylum as opposed to the charitable organisation it advertised. Chin, 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong', pp.135-57.
[118] Miers, 'Mui Tsai Through the Eyes of the Victim', pp.108-121. Janet Lim published an account of her life in the volume *Sold For Silver* first published in 1958, there are few firsthand accounts of the lives of *mui tsai*.
[119] For more on this campaign see Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China', pp.99-106.
[120] Liu, 'The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China', p.99.

modernity, there is no singular definition of modernity.[121] Indeed, their research pushes back against Cui's idea of Western missionaries being responsible for China's modernity by decentring the idea of Western modernity through an acknowledgement of concepts such as 'colonial modernity' and parallel modernities.[122] At the same time that missionaries were pushing their ideals of modernity for young Chinese women, good Christian wives and mothers, China's new republic was constructing of a different model of modernity, based on the consumerism, particularly in Shanghai.[123] This modernity for some Chinese women was aspirational and based on material culture. These competing ideals of modernity meant that missionaries could not claim sole responsibility for modernity in China.

Conclusion

The Victoria Home was established by Mary Ost and her husband for the mission of 'rescuing' young girls that they regarded as victims of slavery and other abuses. Over its years of operation the home took in many girls. Some of them were bought to the home by family members while others came through the colonial government's Registrar General. Other girls were brought to the home as a result of direct missionary intervention. While the Victoria Home undoubtedly had a lasting impact on the lives of the girls it took in, its most important legacy arguably rested with the missionary women.

The Victoria Home was established within a network of organisations that participated in the act of rescue but were also centres of Christian education in Hong Kong. A significant

[121] The Modern Girl around the World Research Group (Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow), 'The Modern Girl as a Heuristic Device: Collaborations, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation' in Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow (eds) *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2008, p.7.
[122] The Modern Girl around the World Research Group, 'The Modern Girl as a Heuristic Device', p.7.
[123] Tani E. Barlow, 'Buying In: Advertising and the Sexy Modern Girl Icon in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s', in Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow (eds) *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2008, p.289.

number of these organisations were run by missionary women. The Victoria Home was run almost exclusively by Mary Ost and then Agnes Hamper. They exerted considerable influence and control, even as the umbrella CMS leadership was overwhelming male. Added to this, the home's sponsorship scheme was almost exclusively subscribed to by women. The missionary movement provided women with professional opportunities outside marriage and spinsterhood. This is demonstrated by the fact that, with the exception of Ost, women employed in the Victorian Home were single. Government and official reliance on the home also speaks to the high standing that it held in the colony and consequently the integral need of the work of these women missionaries. This respect was also essential to the work of medical missionaries, as discussed in the following chapter.

Key features of the Protestant rescue project were demonstrated through the Victoria Home. Missionaries fashioned a racialised lens and hierarchy that informed their work and created a reason for intervention. In this instance, missionaries framed Chinese women and children as ignorant and vulnerable, but essentially 'good', and in need of their help. The Victoria Home engaged in acts of rescue, which provided a visible 'result' to further legitimise intervention. This ensured the continual cycle of rhetoric, rescue and validation that characterised the Protestant rescue project.

The home's focus on family and domesticity lent intimacy to the rescue project. The women of the home worked closely with the students and in their reports framed their relationship as being like a family. The use of familial tropes also helped to foster relatability among supporters in England that ensured the continuation of the home and rescue project in Hong Kong and also continued to provide legitimisation to the movement. The maternalistic ideals of the home would also have appealed to the middle-class audience that would have read the home's reports and the articles written by its missionaries.

The Victoria Home, like many centres of Christian education, was construed as an agent of modernity. Given the sporadic spread of women's education before the arrival of missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century and the proliferation of girls' schools after their arrival, many claimed that they introduced girls' education to China. While this sentiment is true to a degree, as mission schools gave many more girls the opportunity to go to school, only a narrow group of Chinese women were educated. Yet, for missionaries the proliferation of girls' schools was seen as an index of the improvement of the status of women, a crucial preoccupation for women missionaries. Another index, in the eyes of missionaries, of the improvement for women in China brought about by missionary intervention was the introduction of Western medicine. Like education, this introduction was similarly complex in the ways in which it engaged with ideas of modernity, both for missionaries and Chinese women, and is examined in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Women Medical Missionaries in China

In a 1963 obituary for missionary Dr Ruth Massey published in *The Times*, she was lauded as 'one of the pioneer band of women doctors who at the beginning of the century brought western medicine into remote areas of central China.'[1] Women's work in medical missions started with the introduction of vaccination programs, specifically for smallpox, and the establishment of small dispensaries. Eventually, as the missionary presence in China grew, so did the medical missions with the establishment of hospitals and specialised clinics. The employment of qualified medical personnel allowed medical missions to flourish in China. In many ways, the growth of medical missions mirrored that of the broader missionary movement.

In the late nineteenth century, there was a call for more women medical workers to work among the women and children in China. The rise in the number of women medical missionaries coincided with a rise in the numbers of lay professionals being drafted into the missionary movement.[2] Historian Deryck Lovegrove describes this development as 'an outlet for female expertise as well as providing a more general emancipation' for women.[3] This focus on medicine also affected the Protestant rescue project. Whereas previously the project concentrated heavily on conversions, the proliferation of medical missions and the increased medical personnel introduced the promotion of health.

In this chapter I explore the working lives of three missionary women and consider how each approached the idea of Protestant rescue through their medical work. I begin with the history of early medical missions to China which were mostly male-led. I then consider the arrival of women medial missionaries, starting with Dr Ruth Massey and her encounters with

[1] 'Dr Ruth Massey – Obituary', *The Times*, January 23, 1963, p.15.
[2] Deryck Lovegrove, 'Introduction' in Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.) *The Rise of Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, London, Routledge, 2002, p.10.
[3] Lovegrove, 'Introduction', p.10.

mui tsai in Wuchang. I then turn to consider Dr Mary L. Watson and her work with women and children in Pakhoi and Yunnanfu (Kunming), drawing also on the work on her husband. I conclude with Dr Charlotte Bacon who was based in the province of Kwangsi (Guangxi). Bacon saw medicine as a cultural meeting point, as reflected in the title of her monograph *Where East Meets West*, published in 1929. Drawing on these individuals, I also consider the extent to which medical missions brought a form of modernity to China.

Early medical missions in China

The introduction and establishment of medical missions commenced before China was opened up to the West during the First Opium War. In 1820, Dr John Livingstone, an American Protestant missionary, and Dr Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society (LMS) along with Dr Lee, a Chinese practitioner, opened a Sino-Western dispensary with the purpose of providing 'some basic treatment and effective medicines'.[4] The clinic also provided Livingstone and Morrison with the opportunity to observe and understand traditional Chinese treatments. The clinic appears to have closed in 1823 when Morrison took leave.[5] Over the next few years, more clinics like this were opened in different locations throughout coastal China to treat the Chinese.

In 1838, Thomas Colledge, Elijah Bridgman and the Reverend Dr Peter Parker, an American missionary, founded the Medical Missionary Society in China. Parker was widely considered to be the first medical missionary.[6] As historian Theron Kue-Hing Young writes, 'Parker… was not the first Western physician, nor the first Protestant missionary in China. But it was only after 1835 that the two functions were combined.'[7] Parker arrived in Canton in 1834

[4] Michael C. Lazich, 'Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind: The Birth of the Medical Missionary Society in Nineteenth Century China' in David Hardinman (ed.) *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa*, Amsterdam, NL, Rodopi, 2006, p. 62.
[5] Lazich, 'Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind', p.62.
[6] Theron Kue-Hing Young, '*The William Osler Medal Essay*: A Conflict of Professions: The Medical Missionary in China, 1835-1890', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1973, p.250.
[7] Young, '*The William Osler Medal Essay*', p.250.

after graduating from Yale Medical School. He established a hospital in Canton that was associated with the Medical Missionary Society. In 1839, Dr William Lockhart of the LMS arrived in China. He was the first missionary who came to China specifically to be a part of the Medical Missionary Society.[8] After observing Parker's hospital in Canton, he opened one in Macao. Due to growing tensions between Britain and China caused by the opium crisis and subsequent conflict, the hospital in Macao was forced to close.[9]

Lockhart published a book that chronicled his experiences. Much of it was concerned with defining the role of the medical missionary in the mission field. In the preface he stated:

> The object with which these pages have been written is to show that a medical missionary's work in a heathen land has a powerful influence in affecting the minds of people among whom he may labour, and that such work is very valuable in giving facilities for the more direct preaching of the Gospel.[10]

Lockhart saw the medical endeavours of the missionary as key to their success in conversion, a belief held by many medical missionaries. Though interestingly, as more lay professionals became involved in the missionary movement, there was a move away from this emphasis as discussed later in the chapter. Lockhart's book also outlined some of the more interesting cases that he treated as a doctor, including an evaluation of the practice of female footbinding, a practice he deemed 'evil'.[11] In the book he also outlined the objectives of the Medical Missionary Society that he joined, which included 'to encourage the practice of medicine among the Chinese; to extend to them some of the benefits which science, patient investigation, and the ever-kindling light of discovery have conferred upon ourselves.'[12] The secular work

[8] William Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China: a narrative of twenty years' experience*, London, UK, Hurst and Blackett, 1861, p.125.
[9] Lazich, 'Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind', p.80.
[10] Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China',* p.v.
[11] Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China*, pp.334-342.
[12] Lockhart, *The Medical Missionary in China*, p.134.

of medicine came before the religious work of evangelisation, perhaps resulting in a conflict of conscience for some medical missionaries.

However, the ability of the medical missionary to administer Western medicine was impeded by Chinese law. Before the first Opium War the movement of medical missionaries was limited by the Qing government's control of foreign movement. The same control saw early missionaries and traders barter with the Hoppos. The other major obstacle in the path of medical missionaries were Qing laws against the dissection of the human body. Under Qing law, 'autopsy, partition of the human body, or amputation of any of its parts during life' was illegal.[13] These legal restrictions limited the ways in which medical missionaries could practise and created frustration. As a result, the early diffusion of medical missions was somewhat sporadic. The intense proliferation of medical missions after the Opium Wars demonstrates, as with the spread of Western education, the implicit relationship that missionaries had with imperialism and colonialism despite their own belief in the benign nature of their occupation.

Another challenge for medical missionaries was the distance that they had to cover to see their patients. China Inland Mission (CIM) missionary Charlotte Tippet wrote about this in her unpublished memoir, *Diversities of Operation*, as well as describing the travelling methods that they had to use. To get between the mission stations, she wrote that they had to travel on donkeys and in the back of carts, a form of travel that was hard and time consuming. She complained that she could not travel as fast as the *Ma-hao*. The *Ma-hao*, according to Tippet, was the fastest form of travel in the north and was reserved for those from the cities on urgent official business. It involved riders on horseback, identified by a long feather and 'a peculiar cry', racing between large stables along the roads, passing on a message in a relay-

[13] Guangqiu Xu, *American Doctors in Canton: Modernization in China, 1835-1935*, London, UK, N.J. Somerset, 2011, p.2.

like fashion.[14] Tippet, on the other hand, had to travel from five o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock, changing 'horses every ten miles', a process that was 'fine whilst I was fresh' but left her 'too tired to eat'.[15] This arduous and lengthy method of travelling hindered the missionary's ability to respond swiftly to medical emergencies.

The spread of medical missions was also hampered by rumours about their activities. In the same way that Mary Aldersey's school efforts in Ningbo were met with suspicion, so too were missionaries' medical practices. The most common rumours encountered concerned eye gouging, organ removal and the improper treatment of foetuses and pregnant women.[16] Historian Xiaoli Tian argues that eye gouging accusations and rumours were prominent, from as early as the 1840s, because much of the early activity of medical missionaries was ophthalmic.[17] For instance the early hospitals established by Colledge and Parker were designed to treat diseases of the eye, like cataracts.[18] Tian also argues that the rumours about organ removal started because of the enclosed and insular spaces that missionaries occupied in the mission compound.[19] While initially medical missionaries were met with hesitant success in regards to their medical endeavours, the proliferation of missionary hospitals in the post Opium War era contributed to the spread of rumours that strained the relationship between medical missionaries and the Chinese people.

Despite these challenges, medical missions continued to grow and spread throughout China. The establishment of the Medical Missionary Society in 1838 prioritised and made official the medical agendas of missionaries. Over the second half of the nineteenth century,

[14] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Charlotte F. Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, 1938, p.35.
[15] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.35.
[16] Xiaoli Tian, 'Rumour and Secret Space: Organ-Snatching Tales and Medical Missions in Nineteenth-Century China', *Modern China*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2015, pp.197-198.
[17] Tian, 'Rumour and Secret Space', p.201.
[18] Tian, 'Rumour and Secret Space', pp.201-202. See also James G. Ravin, 'Thomas Colledge: A Pioneering British Eye Surgeon in China', *Archives of Ophthalmology*, Vol.119, No. 10, 2001, pp.1530-1532.
[19] Tian, 'Rumour and Secret Space', p.204.

the number of medical missions in China would continue to rise and expand which led to the establishment of the China Medical Missionary Association in 1886. This association was an effort to coordinate the medical work that was happening throughout the country.[20] The establishment of medical missions introduced Chinese people to concepts of western medicine and practice. As well as employing British women in professional roles, hospitals and dispensaries also employed and trained local Chinese women and men, who they believed to be successfully converted, to become nurses, and sometimes doctors.

American Medical Missions

While the three women featured in this chapter were all British medical missionaries, a history of medical missions in China cannot disregard the development of the American medical missions. Often British missionaries worked side by side with their American counterparts. American medical missionaries also interacted with Chinese women and girls and were responsible for some of the first western trained Chinese women doctors. The development of American medical missions coincided with the same rise of lay professionals joining the missionary movement that Lovegrove observed in the British missionary movement.

The first American medical missionary to China was Dr Peter Parker, whose career was discussed earlier in the chapter. However, other American missionaries also established several medical institutions in China during the nineteenth century. One of these missionaries was Dr John Kerr, a physician from Ohio and a successor to Parker. In 1869, he established the first western medical school for the Chinese, the South China Medical School, as well as reportedly China's first mental hospital in 1898, Kerr's Refuge for the Insane.[21] In 1885, American women missionaries Dr Mary Niles and Dr Mary Fulton, opened a dispensary for the use of women

[20] Young, '*The William Osler Medal'*, p.251.
[21] Xu, *American Doctors in Canton*, p.2.

and children, followed in 1899 by the Hackett Medical College for Women, the first medical college in China for women.[22]

The proliferation of women medical missionaries, in the American missionary movement, coincided with the development of independent women's missionary boards. The first women medical missionary to go to China was Dr Lucinda Combs, who was sent on behalf of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.[23] In the early years of the Methodist missionary society, the male run board had not established medical missionaries as an official and formal part of foreign missionary endeavours. The addition of medical missionaries came after the establishment of the Women's Board.[24] Methodist mission historian Walter Lacy wrote: 'To the women of the church belongs the credit for really beginning medical work as a distinct and definite part of the development of the church.'[25] According to historian Maria Zaccarini: 'The health of Chinese women and children was an issue of importance to American churchwomen, and they invested much energy and money into this interest.'[26]

The increase in the number of American women enrolling as medical missionaries also coincided with the increase of medical training facilities for women in America. In the second half of the nineteenth century American women started to enter medical training in larger numbers. Though a majority of male run colleges still refused women entry into their courses in the years after the 1860s women opened five new colleges for women in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, New York, and Baltimore.[27] Some of these medical colleges would go on to use the example and stories of graduates who became medical missionaries to 'inspire' their

[22] Xu, *American Doctors in Canton*, p.2.
[23] Walter Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, Nashville, TN, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1925, p.176.
[24] Maria Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge: Dr Allie Gale in China, 1908-1950*, Bethlehem, PA, Lehigh University Press, 2001, p.52.
[25] Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, p.176.
[26] Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*, p.52.
[27] Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*, pp.52-53.

students.[28] The success of women medical missionaries resulted in Sarah Hale founding the Ladies Medical Missionary Society to fund the medical training of women missionaries. While the idea was first proposed in 1851, it was not until 1870 until the society sent its first female doctor overseas as a missionary.[29]

Perhaps the most pervasive accomplishment of the American women medical missionaries was the establishment of a number of medical training colleges for Chinese women. The first of these colleges was the Hackett College for Women, mentioned earlier in the chapter. These colleges gave Chinese women the opportunity to study medicine, a basis for later missionary claims for the modernity they believed they brought to China. Run by female missionaries, the colleges also legitimised the expertise of women medical missionaries and their experiences. Key to this legitimisation was the 'mutual opportunity' for communicating the role of women in medicine; that is, their abilities and skills and as role models 'for how these abilities and responsibilities might be acquired and employed.'[30] The legitimisation of women medical missionaries and their Chinese counterparts led to the increased proliferation of women medical missionaries in China, both British and American. As a result, women medical missionaries were given the opportunity to shape medical missions and their agendas in China, as can be seen through the examples of Dr Ruth Massey, Dr Mary Watson and Dr Charlotte Bacon.

Women Medical Missionaries in China

The introduction of women medical missionaries in China allowed medical missions to expand their services and create programs and resources for Chinese women. This in turn, allowed the medical missions to be part of the Protestant rescue project. Unlike, the project's commitment

[28] Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*, p.53
[29] Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*, p.54.
[30] Sara W. Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women: The Development of Professional Women's Medicine at Canton, China, 1879-1901', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 13, No, 4, 1990, p.367.

to education, medical missions were less about saving souls and more about saving bodies. However, for many missionaries they were still centres of conversion and evangelism. Like the movement's education projects, the medical missions gave women missionaries an opportunity to operate independently, engaging with the idea of missionary feminism and modernity. Yet, the projects were still steeped in the idea of white maternalism.

Dr Ruth Massey and the 'Slave Girls'

Dr Ruth Massey was born in Manchester in 1873 into a well-known family which came to prominence during the Industrial Revolution. She was sent to China as a missionary in 1899 at the age of twenty-six, shortly after graduating from Edinburgh's Medical College for Women where she studied from 1893 to 1899 and was awarded the gold medal for practical anatomy in 1896.[31] Her father, Stephen, who had sponsored her and supported her work as a missionary, was a director of the LMS and in 1896 was its chairman.[32] She was initially engaged to work at the Wuchang Hospital, which was established by her father in 1893.[33] Her early time in China was overshadowed by the events of the Boxer Rebellion. In 1901, however, Massey started working at the newly completed women's hospital in Wuchang, work that came to characterise her time as a missionary. She resigned from the society in 1928 to return home and look after her father whose health was failing. Massey died in 1963 at her home in Wilmslow, Cheshire. She was eighty-nine.

While Massey was working at the women's hospital, she encountered a number of so-called 'slave girls'. The notes for five of these young girls, presumably made during the 1920s, were given to Lady Kathleen Simon of the Anti-Slavery Society. It is not known whether

[31] Clyde Binfield, 'Industry, professionalism and mission: The placing of an emancipated laywoman, Dr Ruth Massey 1873-1963' in Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.) *The Rise of Layity in Evangelical Protestantism*, London, Routledge, 2002, p.190; 'The Medical Education of Women', *Edinburgh Evening Standard*, March 20, 1896, p.4.
[32] Binfield, 'Industry, professionalism and mission', p.190.
[33] Binfield, 'Industry, professionalism and mission', pp.196, 190.

Massey was approached by the Anti-Slavery Society or approached them herself, though it was not uncommon for advocate societies to approach missionaries for information on various subjects. Throughout the case notes, Massey described the condition the girls were in when they were brought to the hospital and offered some opinion as to their lives, including their mistreatment. These case notes were undoubtedly used by the Anti-Slavery Society as an argument against the employment of *mui tsai*, who they believed were subjected to neglect and abuse (as is discussed in chapter six).

The first girl Massey documented was aged eight or nine. She wrote, 'On enquiry we were told that she was a slave and that, because of some trifling fault, her mistress beat her, and, in a fit of passion, had burnt her with a hot poker.'[34] After a couple of days, the child developed the symptoms of tetanus and died following 'two days of dreadful suffering.' She noted that the child was terrified of the Chinese nurses, who were working at the hospital, and was inconsolable but would lie quietly in the arms of the English nurse. Massey concluded, 'One felt that she had experienced so much cruelty from those of her own race, that she feared all and suspected them; and she turned to strangers from whom in her short experience she had known nothing but kindness.'[35] Massey also recounted the story of another young girl who was brought to the hospital and was discovered to have leprosy. Upon hearing the diagnosis, she was rejected by 'her owners' who insisted that they would not take responsibility for her and left her in the care of the hospital staff who were able to get her into a 'leper asylum'.[36]

Massey also recorded the cases of 'slave girls' who, she alleged, insisted that they were not mistreated. In one such account, a girl of eighteen was brought to the hospital in a 'state of

[34] The Bodleian Libraries MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 1.
[35] The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 1.
[36] The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 2.

collapse'. The hospital was told by the male servant who brought her in that 'she had been ill a week or ten days, but had to get up and struggle to do her work until she was too ill to stand.'[37] The girl had reached the second week of typhoid and was unconscious on arrival and stayed in that state for some time after admittance. Massey wrote that despite living close to the hospital her 'owners' never once visited. Upon the girl's discharge, Massey wrote, 'when she was better she denied having been cruelly treated; she seemed to regard neglect and an occasional beating as her natural lot in life.'[38]

In another account, Massey recorded the story of a young girl around the age of seven who came to the hospital severely emaciated and covered in bruises, though the young girl denied she had been beaten. According to Massy she was also covered in sores from neglect and was extremely weak. The hospital staff did not think that she would survive the ordeal and there were times when they believed she would die. Eventually, the child pulled through and became 'strong and well' after some weeks at the hospital and insisted that 'one of the ladies was kind to her'. Massey finished the report by writing, 'In some cases one suspected that the children were afraid to admit that they had been ill-treated even when there were definite marks of bruises to show that they had been beaten. No doubt they feared punishment if their owners found out that they had told.'[39]

In these interactions, the role of Massey and her fellow missionaries is clear. They were providing physical care to the young girls as they came to the hospital as patients. There is no mention of converting the young girls to Christianity, and this was unlikely to have been a high priority for the staff who were concerned with restoring health. The only girls who stayed in

[37] The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 4.
[38] The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 4.
[39] The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers), Dr Ruth Massey, *Notes of Cases of Slave Children seen at the Women's Hospital*, 5.

their long term care were those who ultimately died because of their afflictions. While Massey herself offers up no position on the practice of owning ‘slave girls’, her observations of the treatment of the ‘slave girls’ support activists’ claims of abuse and neglect, and could have been used by other missionaries to justify a position on slavery. The fact that these case notes were among the papers of Lady Kathleen Simon, a prominent anti-slavery campaigner, also supports this conclusion.

For the most part missionaries in China were reserved in their discussions about the ‘slave girls’, seemingly backing away from any political discourse. Missionaries like Massey who worked in the hospitals appear to have prioritised the ‘saving’ of their bodies over the saving of their souls. While it is highly likely that the young girls were exposed to evangelists in the mission hospitals, it is also likely that Massey was not connected directly with these people. Because Massey chose to record the stories and ailments of these five girls, it is possible to conclude that she was concerned about abuse and neglect. Unlike in Hong Kong, the conversations about ‘slave girls’ in China did not carry the same political connotations, though no doubt mainland China was influenced by the debates that were happening in Hong Kong. Medical missionaries often wrote accounts of their more ‘interesting’ cases. By choosing to write about these particular cases, Massey addressed the existence of the ‘slave girls’ albeit in a subtle manner.

This reservation could perhaps be explained by the tenuous position that was held by missionaries in China. Unlike their colleagues in Hong Kong and other colonial possessions, missionaries in China were not afforded the protections of colonial structures and networks. Outside of the treaty ports, the protection afforded to missionaries was limited. This left missionaries to rely on the establishment and maintenance of good relations with the local Chinese population to safely carry out their work. To maintain these relationships and the subsequent goodwill they brought, many missionaries would likely have chosen to be more

reserved in their commentary. This reservation is indicative of the relationship that missionaries had with colonialism and imperialism. That is not to say that no missionaries took a stance in regards to the 'slave girls'. Dr Alexander Watson, the husband of Mary Watson, spoke out against their treatment, as I discuss below.

Through Massey's stories, the role of Protestant rescue in regards to 'saving' the bodies of the Chinese population is apparent. Within medical missions, the role of traditional evangelism could become a secondary priority, yet evangelism should not be wholly disregarded. While Massey never explicitly stated that she believed the introduction of Christianity would help the Chinese 'slave girls', her Christianity had brought her to China.

Dr Mary L. Watson

Dr Mary L. Watson was born in 1898 in England and arrived in China in January 1924 as a medical missionary with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). She and her husband Dr Alexander Watson were initially stationed in Pakhoi where he was charged with running the general and leper hospital within the medical compound. In 1929, they were moved to another mission in Yunnanfu (Kunming) after a brief furlough in England. In Yunnanfu, Mary had to take a step back from missionary work as by this time she had three young children to care for. After leaving China upon her missionary retirement in 1935, she returned to England until her death in Oxford in 1993 at the age of ninety-five.[40]

Like all CMS missionaries, her first aim was to acquire a sound knowledge of the Chinese language, though in reality many missionaries only had a working knowledge. In her

[40] 'England and Wales', *Civil Registration Death Index*, 1916-2007.

first annual letter to the parent committee in London, written at the end of 1924, Watson related that she had completed the language requirements by August and took the language examination shortly afterwards.[41] She told the committee that from the start of their missionary endeavour she and her husband split the work between them, 'he taking charge of the male and I the female- side of it.'[42] Alexander Watson, in his first annual letter, described the work among the women that Mary was in charge of, as 'the most important part of the work'.[43] This reflected wider attitudes as to the importance of women within the movement as discussed in chapter two.

Of the three women featured in this chapter, Watson wrote the most about the conditions of the Chinese women and children, 'One of the most distressing aspects of conditions here is the tremendous infant mortality.'[44] She went on to write, 'I am often struck with the difference [of living conditions] which exists between the men and their women folk.'[45] Watson also believed that women in China lacked a basic knowledge of general cleanliness and hygiene and that this was harming their position in society. In summarising what she believed to be the main challenges for China she wrote, 'One feels very strongly that one big cause of China's problems & difficulties of the present is the ignorance of the women

[41] Annual Letters were letters written to the parent committee back in London that reported on the work that missionaries were completed and the successes of that work and sometimes they contained anecdotes about missionary work. These letters were also used to ask the committee for more resources, money, and sometimes more people. Mary only wrote three annual letters in 1924, 1925, and the years 1930-131. Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.
[42] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.
[43] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.
[44] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.
[45] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.

of the nation.'[46] Like many missionary women, she felt that the success of Christianity in China could only be judged by the advancement of women.

In her next annual letter, written at the end of 1925, she identified three 'headings' that her work with women and children fell into – general, maternity, and leper.[47] In regards to the general work she was engaged in, she reported that the number of women and children using the hospital and medical services of the mission had grown steadily. She stated that during the summer, they would see an average of sixty to seventy patients a day in the outpatient clinic; however, in the colder weather, this number decreased. She also reported an increase in women using the maternity hospital, 'One sees the value of this work while out visiting in the homes – the mothers who have been to hospital for their confinement – carry out in their own homes the methods of cleanliness they have seen while here.'[48] Watson's writing reveals a consistent concern with cleanliness, which she regarded as the starting point for preventing diseases 'caused by dirt and neglect' among the young children and infants.

Watson did not write an annual letter again until 1930, after she and her husband had moved from the station in Pakhoi to the station in Yunnanfu (Kunming) in September 1926.[49] In the intervening years, Dr Alexander Watson was responsible for correspondence to the parent committee, perhaps because of the extra burdens Mary assumed after the birth of her children, John and Arthur. In his 1926 letter, he noted that 'my wife has been of invaluable service in the very heavy work we have… being the first female doctor in Yunnanfu she has

[46] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1924.
[47] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1925.
[48] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1925.
[49] It is curious that Mary Watson did not write a letter in 1926, being the first female doctor in the area it is reasonable to expect her to want to reflect on what that means for the health of the women in the region as the rest of her correspondence show her to be very passionate about this issue. It is possible that she did write an annual letter and it has not survived through to the present. Also by 1926, Mary had given birth to her eldest son John, it is possible that the responsibilities of child rearing prevented her from writing. In his 1927 annual letter, Alexander did not mention anything specific about Mary's work.

now quite a large number of patients.'[50] After a period of furlough in England in 1928-29, the Watsons returned to Yunnanfu (Kunming) in November 1929.[51] This period is covered in Mary's 1930 annual letter. While Mary had previously written about the evangelical work of the mission it was always accompanied by a report of the medical work. In this letter, however, she appeared to be most concerned about the mission's evangelical work, noting that 'it is impossible for me to be a full time worker in the hospital with the care of three young children.'[52] She was still able to work part time, seeing patients in the afternoons of the free clinics, as well as some work on operations and 'attending difficult maternity cases.'[53]

While Mary did not write specifically about work with women in her 1930 annual letter, Alexander did. He wrote a feature on the effect on the medical mission that he called 'The Opium Evil'.[54] Watson wrote that because of the ready availability of opium it was commonly used in suicides, as discussed in chapter 4. He went on to single out women as being disproportionately affected. 'For the first six months of 1930 we had 60 cases [of attempted suicide] in the hospital the vast majority being young women.'[55] He also made a note of the 'slave girls' that were coming through the hospital, 'The habit of domestic slavery of young girls leads to great abuse, and many of these victims of neglect come to our clinics.'[56] He

[50] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1926.
[51] Both Mary and Alexander Watson were home in England on furlough in 1928 and 1929. Incoming passenger lists for London show that Mary had previously arrived in England in July 1927 with the two eldest of the couple's children, John and Arthur. [51] It is not clear whether she returned to China between this time and Alexander's furlough in 1928. Married missionary women with children often returned home with their children, for their education and health. Given that her youngest was six months at their time of arrival, it is likely that she was returning home to recover from the birth. Ancestry.com.au, *UK Incoming Passenger Lists* 1878-1960.
[52] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.
[53] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Mary Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.
[54] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.
[55] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.
[56] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.

referred to the work of Miss Tindall, one of the young missionaries at the mission, who started a home in the city for the young girls who Watson claimed were often cast away by their owners when they become seriously ill.[57]

While in Yunnan-fu he wrote an article in the CMS's medical journal, *The Mission Hospital*, in support of the work of medical missions in regards to the 'slave girls'. In the article, he outlined why he believed that medical missions still should play a vital role in the overall mission in China. The start of the article outlined some of the main concerns against the use of medical missions, the main one being that they did not bring about 'true' conversions as patients converted to Christianity as a way of showing their gratitude.[58] Watson refuted these claims, he wrote, 'This objection would have weight only if the act of healing was done in such a way as to make it obvious to the patient that it was being done with this *quid pro quo* in mind.'[59] The other position that he objected to was the establishment of medical missions above all other forms of mission.

Here Watson used the example of the stories of two 'slave girls' who came through his hospital. He claimed that hundreds of 'slave girls' came through the hospital annually, though he made no statement about what they were being treated for. He first recounted a story about a young 'slave girl' with a corneal ulcer who was brought in by her mistress. The girl ultimately lost sight in her eye. Watson made a point of saying that had the girl been brought in straight away, rather than delaying her treatment by over a month, this would not have been the case.[60] The second story concerned a pregnant 'slave girl' who was bought by a family who wanted another wet nurse. Watson was called out to see to her in the middle of the night. The young

[57] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd, Alexander Watson, *Annual Letter*, 1930-31.
[58] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Dr Alexander Watson, 'I believe in medical missions!', *The Mission Hospital*, 1935, p.154.
[59] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Watson, 'I believe in medical missions!', p.154.
[60] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Watson, 'I believe in medical missions!', p.154.

girl ultimately lost the child, but the family were indifferent.[61] Watson argued that both these situations could have been avoided if these were Christian families that valued the life of women,

> If the advocates of medical missions but no other mission should have their way, it is safe to say that the doctors in the year 2035 will be still trying to cure neglected and desperate cases of disease among slave girls. There is no other power in the world except that of Christianity which can revolutionize open sores like these… It may be true that neither Confucianism nor Buddhism, which systems prevail throughout China, condone such cruelty. On the other hand, they do both of them accept and teach the absolute inferiority of womanhood.[62]

Watson argued, essentially, that while the medical missionary could fix the physical wounds of the 'slave girls', it required a change of system to protect these girls and that Christianity could provide that change.

Throughout her missionary career, Mary Watson took responsibility for the women and children who came through the hospital, where she felt she could address the issues most affecting their lives, notably infant mortality. However, her most discernible contribution to the 'rescue' of women and children was her focus on cleanliness and disease prevention. This focus reveals a bodily physicality to the nature of rescue as well as the intimate nature of women's missionary work. For Watson, maintaining the wellbeing of the women and children was the key to converting the women and children of China.

Her husband's work was also similarly characterised by a dedication to work among women. He would go on to become an influential figure in the anti-*mui tsai* campaigns of the

[61] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Watson, 'I believe in medical missions!', p.155.
[62] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Watson, 'I believe in medical missions!', p.155.

1930s as discussed in chapter four. His work in Yunnanfu (Kunming) seems to be his first encounter with the *mui tsai*, an institution he did not agree with. In the 1930s Watson corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society in regards to this issue, providing them with information on the *mui tsai*, which was included in a dossier.[63] Mary and Alexander Watson left Yunnanfu in 1935 when they retired from the CMS, though Alexander maintained contact with members of the society afterwards.

Dr Charlotte Bacon – Where East meets West

Dr Charlotte Bacon arrived in China in 1911 after five years of medical school.[64] She was a missionary with the CMS and was one of the first female medical missionaries in the area.[65] Her arrival in 1911was just after the Revolution that resulted in the new Chinese Republic. She was responsible for the establishment and building of the Way of Life Hospital in Kweilin (Guilin), or Cassia Grove City as she refers to it, the capital of the province of Kwangsi (Guangxi). She was evacuated from China in 1944.[66]

Of the three women examined in this chapter, her approach to missionary work was the most imperialist and patriotic. Bacon held the intervention of the British into traditional Chinese customs as responsible for the rapid modernisation of Chinese culture. She was highly critical of practices that she did not deem British and Christian, with communism being a particular sticking point. The main source for Bacon's missionary work used in this chapter is her *Where East meets West* (1929), a book about finding common ground.[67] The closing

[63] See chapter six.
[64] Charlotte Bacon, *Where East meets West*, London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1929, p.22.
[65] Peter Cunich, 'Women Missionaries and Sino-British Relations, 1900-1949' in Priscilla Roberts and He Pequin (eds) *Bonds Across Borders: Women, China and International Relations in the Modern World*, Newcastle, UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, pp.203-4.
[66] Cunich, 'Women Missionaries and Sino-British Relations, 1900-1949', p.203.
[67] This book is written from the perspective of the third person. It is never explicitly stated the female doctor that Bacon is writing about is Charlotte Bacon, however, it is reasonable to assume this is the case.

chapters of the book are preoccupied with the rise of communism within Chinese politics, which she believed was a direct rebuttal and refutation of Christianity.

The influence of imperialism on Bacon's work is evident from the start of her book. Bacon's prologue starts by quoting the opening lines of Rudyard Kipling's imperialistic 1889 poem The Ballard of East and West. She includes the often omitted third and fourth lines which challenge the notion of an absolute division between East and West:

> OH, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
>
> Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
>
> But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
>
> When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth![68]

While much of the work of British missionaries demonstrated the implicit relationship between the missionary movement and colonialism in China, Bacon's book shows that, at least, some missionaries believed that there could be an explicit connection between the two. Bacon closed her book by echoing the third line of Kipling's poem *But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,* and then invoking St Paul's letter to the Ephesians writing:

> For there is one Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God and Father of all, Who is above all and through all and in you all, For HE is our Peace Who hath made BOTH ONE, And hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us.[69]

This evocation provided her readers with the tantalising idea of a community united under the Christian religion. The idea of singular Christian community was a common theme throughout

[68] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Ballad of East and West', 1889 qtd in Bacon, Where East meets West, p.
[69] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.96

her book. Bacon was apparently unaware that Kipling himself, who was frequently critical of the missionary presence in Asia, did not share her vision.[70]

According to historian Peter Cunich, Bacon was highly regarded by all levels of the Chinese community, as well as by her fellow missionaries. This regard allowed her to act as an intermediary between the two groups, particularly between women, thus creating a space of commonality.[71] This space of commonality she described as 'meeting points'. The first meeting point was 'ordinary human need'. She defined this through the introduction and sale of cotton from Manchester and Singer sewing machines in the city of Kweilin (Guilin). She labelled this as the slow 'acceptance' of the West and a sign of the need for 'commerce and invention'. [72]

The book's initial chapters are concerned with the history of Kwangsi (Guangxi) and the early missionaries who were established there, an American and an Englishman. These early missionaries were apparently not trusted until one of them helped to cure the eye affliction of an elderly Chinese man.[73] Following this the wife of one of the missionaries, presumably the Englishman, arrived in the city. Initially, the woman was treated with suspicion and was not accepted by the local population. Bacon claims that this suspicion subsided after the woman left briefly for Wuchow and returned with a child, 'Surely she must be a woman, for she has had a baby like us; yes, and feeds it as we do.'[74] This event was important to Bacon. While she had previously named commerce and invention as a point of commonality, it was not until this event, which featured only women that she believed the two cultures had met. She wrote, 'East and West really touched for the first time in the Cassia Grove City, and their meeting-place

[70] David Scott, 'Kipling, the Orient, and Orientals: "Orientalism" Reoriented?', *Journal of World History,* Vol. 22, no. 3, 2011, p. 309.
[71] Cunich, 'Women Missionaries and Sino-British Relations, 1900-1949', p.213.
[72] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.17.
[73] She does not specify what eye affliction the man is suffering from, just that it is common among the Chinese population. Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.21.
[74] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.21.

was a common humanity through the burden of motherhood.'[75] For Bacon, women were at the heart of the city and her Christian mission.

While women, both Chinese and foreign, feature prominently throughout the book, they are entirely central in one particular story about how a Chinese family adopted her. This happened after she had cured the wife of the family's twelfth son of an eye affliction. She called the adoption 'a great honour' as 'a new relative is celebrated by presents and feast and general rejoicing.'[76] As part of her adoption, Bacon was witness to the intimate life of the Chinese family and the role that women played within it. Despite knowing the male members of the family her story features the women only, with men making fleeting appearances. She observed that one of the 'outstanding virtues of the Chinese race' was their hospitality and the life of leisure the family and women led.[77] This family, in particular, had multiple sons, who had multiple wives and the family was affluent enough to afford a number of servants and young slave girls. Bacon's eagerness to exalt the virtues of this family and the place of women within it resulted in her failing to concede that the affluence of this family meant that they did not represent most Chinese.

Bacon commented on the lives of the 'slave girls' who were owned by this family. This was seemingly her first contact with *mui tsai*. She described the young girls as mixing 'unceremoniously with [the] family' in between their duties. In her list of their duties, the most arduous task was that of chopping wood. The young girls were also allowed to access the private bedrooms of the family:

> These small morsels of humanity were also allowed to come unceremoniously into the bedroom, and if there was an empty stool could sit and stretch out their tiny hands over

[75] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.21.
[76] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.50.
[77] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.55.

> the glowing embers of charcoal, while the elder women-servants even joined in the conversation.[78]

She goes on to write that the 'little slaves are often treated well by their mistresses' with their marriages being arranged for them when they reach an appropriate age. Bacon's depiction of the lives of these young girls comes across as somewhat idealistic. Despite her seemingly benevolent description, she concedes that their life was less than ideal – 'the fact remains that they are the entire and absolute property of their owners.'[79] She went on to say that while many mistresses treated the girls well, if their owners happened to be 'cruel or bad' there was no authority to which they could be held responsible and that the fate of many of these young girls was 'tragic in the extreme.'[80]

Bacon also wrote of encounters with women who were not as affluent as her adopted family. She recounted the story of Mrs Hoh, who, she claimed, arrived at the Way of Life hospital wanting to learn about Christianity. After an incident where a man claiming to be her brother attempted to take her away, she told her story to Bacon. Hoh said that as a child, her parents had enrolled her at the local mission school but after their death, she had been sold by her relatives to a 'life of ill-fame.' She also told Bacon that a brigand, a member of an ambush gang, had carried her off because of her beauty, an incident that Bacon claimed was not uncommon.[81] According to Bacon, Hoh's main desire for presenting herself to the hospital was because of her opium addiction, a habit, that according to Bacon, she had 'tasted back in that evil life of hers.' With the help of the hospital staff 'that terrible, haunting, devilish craving fell off her like a cloak.' [82] Bacon's account is brief and devoid of detail, placing emphasis on her

[78] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.56.
[79] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.56.
[80] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.56.
[81] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.89.
[82] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.89.

own success in converting Hoh to Christianity as well as celebrating Hoh's recovery from her previous hardships.

Bacon conceded that the lives of the women of her adopted family were not without conflict. She wrote down the story of Mrs Chang, the secondary wife of one of the family's older sons. Chang, originally one of the young slave girls employed by the family, had married the son when his first wife had failed to produce a son. She was left childless after the jealous first wife had allegedly killed her baby. Bacon also recounted the marriages of the family's fourteenth son, who she called Lord Fourteen. After his first wife was not able to have a male child he took on a new wife, an act that caused a rift between the family and the first wife.[83] Bacon is not overly critical in her account, viewing these as simply unhappy marriages, 'And in the West, too, are there not unhappy marriages? Is not home life there made wretched through disappointment, incompatibility, sorrow, and sin?'[84] She even goes on to conclude that this marital and domestic conflict was another point of commonality between East and West.

In spite of her profession as a doctor, and her status as the first female doctor in the area, there is surprisingly little about her medical career in the book. For the most part, she recounts stories about how her medical knowledge allowed her to gain the trust and friendship of the Chinese people with whom she was working. In 1911, she established the Way of Life hospital shortly after her arrival in Kweilin (Guilin), but she does not write about it until she recounts the renovations undertaken on the hospital in 1922.[85] For the majority of her account she is more concerned with espousing the power of religion to unite different people. She details the role that the hospital and the Red Cross played in providing relief and support to the

[83] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, pp.57-60.
[84] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.60.
[85] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, pp.42-49.

residents of the city during a siege in the 1920s.[86] Again, her aim here is to highlight the role religion played in uniting the Chinese and the foreigners.

One aspect of the missionary life in China that is articulated in Bacon's book is the political unrest that characterised the Chinese administration in the early twentieth century. Bacon's observations of this unrest differentiate her from the other two women in this chapter. Despite writing at similar times to Bacon neither Mary Watson nor Ruth Massey focus on the politics and unrest in China. This could be because of Bacon's proximity to the unrest in Kweilin (Guilin). In her book she recalled that in her first year at the mission, 1911, she witnessed the province of Kwangsi (Guangxi) being taken by republican fighters, 'Somehow, in the night, the old Empire had crept away…then Kwangsi was on the side of the "Min Koh," the people's country.'[87] She also recounts the growing influence that Dr Sun Yat-Sen held within the region.[88] According to Bacon, in 1921 Sun organised a 'punitive expedition' to bring the whole of China under the control of the people's party. When the expedition party arrived in Kweilin (Guilin), the city was flooded with soldiers, and opium dens and brothels were allowed to flourish.[89] Throughout the book, she is highly critical of Sun and his supporters.[90]

Overall, her book presents a rather simplified view of missionary life in China despite covering some pivotal and complex issues. The point of this simplification appears to be an attempt to convince reading audiences back home in England that they were not so different from their Chinese counterparts. Cunich observed that in Kweilin (Guilin) Bacon's position in society allowed her to play the role of mediator between the Chinese population and the foreign

[86] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, pp.62-70.
[87] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.27.
[88] Dr Sun Yat-Sen was a Hong Kong trained doctor and a leader of the revolution against the Qing Empire. Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire*, London, Penguin, 2011, p.334.
[89] Bacon, *Where East meets West*, pp.36-7.
[90] Bacon's criticism of Sun is due to her perception of his involvement with the spread of communism throughout China. According to Bacon this was happening because of the Russian revolution and what she called the 'poison of Bolshevism'. Bacon, *Where East meets West*, p.78

population. This book seems to be an extension of that role, only with respect to mediating between those in China and those back in England.

Like Bacon, many missionaries still saw the primary use of medical missions as an opportunity for proselytization. While working at a mission station in Chefoo (Yantai) in the north of China, Charlotte Tippet recorded such an occasion in her memoir. This story was about a young boy with a broken arm. The boy's arm had been broken and not set properly and as a result, he could not move it.[91] Tippet wrote that his father was away at the time and as the boy was the oldest child, the mother 'was in a terrible state'.[92] According to her initial examination, the boy was in need of a doctor and an x-ray, both of which were 'many days journey away'.[93] Apparently, the boy was from a village that was 'not interested in the gospel' but Tippet thought that if she could help the boy perhaps the village would become interested in the gospel. She wrote,

> It was a daring thing to do, but the arm was a very thin one, and the boy small, yet, to re-brake the arm, and set it again, without chloroform, and pro[per] medical help was no easy matter …by degrees with massage etc, I got a considerable amount of movement, till in the end the arm could be bent fairly easily, and the boy could use his chopsticks, and the injury was hardly noticeable.[94]

Following this incident, Tippet claimed that the village had 'opened to the gospel' and that this was evidence of the success missionaries were having in China.[95]

This is a sentiment backed up by American Baptist missionary William B. Lipphard. Lipphard in his book *The Ministry of Healing*, published in 1920, wrote: 'Medical missions are

[91] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.31.
[92] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.31.
[93] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.32.
[94] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.32.
[95] SOAS Library CIM/PP Box 3, Tippet, *Diversities of Operation*, p.32.

to be regarded, not merely as a temporary expedient for opening the way for and extending the influence of the gospel, but as an integral, coordinate, and permanent part of the missionary work of the Christian Church.'[96] His comments speak to the purpose of medical missionaries and their integral role in evangelisation. For missionaries, medicine provided them with another opportunity to proselytise and gain converts.

Medical Missions and Chinese Women

Historian Sara Tucker argues that the proliferation of medical missions in China during the nineteenth century provided 'an unusually fruitful meeting-ground for Chinese and western women.'[97] Tucker described the Chinese mission field as having a 'generally conservative nature' that offered Chinese women some 'small opportunities.' She argued that one such opportunity was when Chinese women and western women met to study and practice 'medicine for and by women.'[98] For Tucker, this began in 1879 when three young Cantonese women were permitted to enrol in medical classes at the Canton Medical Missionary Hospital.

The Canton Medical Missionary Hospital, established by medical missionary Dr Peter Parker in 1835, had offered medical classes to students for some time. At the outset limited and informal classes were offered to Chinese men in an effort to convince them to convert to Christianity.[99] As the hospital grew more men took the classes. Tucker argues that the classes were appealing to young Chinese men who came from poorer backgrounds who could not afford to train in the more traditional Chinese occupations. These classes were also conducted in the local Cantonese dialect and were attractive to those who did not have the language skills

[96] William B. Lipphard, *The Ministry of Healing: A Study of Medical Missionary Endeavour on Baptist Foreign Mission Fields*, Philadelphia, The American Baptist Publication Society, 1920, p.20.
[97] Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women', p.357.
[98] Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women', pp.357-358.
[99] Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women', p.358.

to attend the British colleges in Hong Kong. Access to these same opportunities and benefits attracted the three young women to the classes.[100]

Many other Chinese women were trained in medicine and as doctors. Perhaps the most well-known women were Dr Ida Kahn (also known as Kang Cheng) and Dr Shi Meiyu. Kahn was the adopted daughter of American missionary Gertrude Howe while Meiyu was the daughter of a local Chinese Christian family in Jiujiang where Howe worked as a missionary.[101] After sitting the entrance exam for the University of Michigan's medical program in 1892, both Kahn and Meiyu were accepted and graduated from the program in 1896 before their return to China.[102] Kahn and Meiyu were not the first Chinese women to graduate from medical school in America. In 1885, Jin Yumei had graduated from the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, and in 1892 Xu Jinhong had graduated from the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania.[103]

It is tempting to frame the training of Chinese women as doctors as a narrative of female empowerment facilitated by women missionaries. Historian Guangqiu Xu goes so far as to say that medical missionaries were the 'initiators of social reforms' which led to the 'modern women's rights movement in China.'[104] In arguing that the training of Chinese women as doctors was an essentially feminist act, Xu taps into similar arguments used by Beaver in his argument that the women's missionary movement was inherently feminist.[105] However, Bishop Eleanor Francis-Gulnar's argument about the missionary movement being an extension of the

[100] Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women', p.359.
[101] Connie A. Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross Cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation,* Cranbury, NJ, Lehigh University Press, 2011, p.29.
[102] Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu*, pp.45-51.
[103] Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu*, p.45.
[104] Guangqiu Xu, 'Medical Missionaries in Guangzhou: The iniators of the modern women's rights movement in China', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2016, p.445.
[105] R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, (rev. ed.) Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1980.

traditional nurturing female role could also be applied to the circumstances.[106] This is an argument employed by Tucker who writes, 'most successful changes in women's lives came about more quietly, in increments…[and] did not threaten the continuing pattern of separate male and female spheres.'[107]

In considering the training of Chinese women as an imagined act of empowerment, we should not forget the racial hierarchy within which missionaries operated. Despite medical training and language proficiency Chinese women were still seen as inferior to western women. This was a phenomenon demonstrated by missionary attempts to replace Chinese traditional medicine, that many Chinese women adhered to, with western medicine according to Zaccarini.[108] Despite the racial divide there were still instances where medical missionaries and Chinese medics worked together on an apparently equal basis. One such occasion was in 1919 when several American and Chinese women physicians, nurses and pharmacists, along with a number of medical students, went to Vladivostok to assist the newly formed Red Cross in the Russian refugee crisis following the Russian revolution.[109] In instances like this Tucker's description of medical training providing a meeting ground for western missionaries and Chinese women appears to hold true.

Conclusion

Medical missions would become one of the most recognisable aspects of mission work in China. Women's work in these missions allowed medical missionaries more intimate insights into the lives of Chinese people. Some missionaries, like Charlotte Bacon, used their medical skills as a tool to gain the trust and conversion of the Chinese people and to demonstrate to

[106] Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani, *Religious Feminism in an Age of Empire: CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1869-1934*, Bristol, UK, Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender, Research Monograph 4, 2000, pp.144-145.
[107] Tucker, 'Opportunities for Women', p.357.
[108] Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*, p.51.
[109] Connie Shemo, 'Imperialism, Race, and Rescue: Transformations in the Women's Foreign Mission Movement after World War I', *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 00, No. 0, 2019, p.1.

others that the Chinese were not so different. Others like Mary Watson used their knowledge to educate the Chinese population about basic health and hygiene with the hope of improving their lives. Advocates for social reform in China might engage doctors like Ruth Massey to provide them with insight into the suffering of Chinese women that justified rescue projects. While all three women had different approaches to their work, they all contributed to the Protestant rescue project albeit sometimes indirectly.

This focus on health opened up new avenues for the rescue project in China. Mary Watson aimed to correct what she saw as inequalities between men and women. Like most women missionaries, she believed that the success of Christianity could only be measured by the position held by Chinese women. Through her work, she taught women basic hygiene and cleanliness, the lack of which she blamed on the 'poor' condition of women. Ruth Massey also contributed to the mission of saving 'bodies' through her work with the *mui tsai*. This medical work helped to improve the lives of the young girls who were brought to the hospital. While she offered no written opinion as to the morality of the *mui tsai* system, her decision to write about these cases and pass the notes along to anti-*mui tsai* advocates indicates her opposition to it. Massey's reluctance to comment openly on the institution is indicative of the precarious position missionaries in mainland China held. Without the support of colonial structures, missionaries were reliant on good relations with the Chinese population for support and their safety.

Charlotte Bacon's engagement with the Protestant rescue project is different from the other two women. While through her medical work she undoubtedly contributed to the rescue of women's bodies, her book focussed on how she saved their 'souls'. She was also preoccupied with convincing a reading audience back in England that the Chinese were not that different from them. Like most women missionaries, Bacon believed that the key to the conversion of China was the emancipation of women.

Like the Chinese biblewomen, the training of Chinese women in medicine gave them new opportunities to exercise their own agency while giving rise to claims that the medical mission brought modernity to China. While medical training did provide Chinese women and men with an opportunity to enter into respectable paid work they were still seen as inferior to their western counterparts. Ultimately, medical missions were another opening for evangelisation in China. The following chapter examines missionary involvement in the *mui tsai* campaign of the early twentieth century. During this campaign missionary concerns about modernity, conversion, and rescue were revealed.

Chapter Six: Protecting *Mui Tsai* in Hong Kong and China

In 1928, Dora Noltenius wrote to a Miss Johnston in London. Noltenius was a missionary with the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England's Amoy (Xiamen) mission. In her letter, Noltenius described the Chinese New Year party the mission had given for the servants and 'slave-girls' in the nearby children's home. She wrote, 'I do hope that the children will grow up feeling that the little slaves are human beings to be treated kindly.'[1] The welfare of these girls was of grave concern to many missionaries. In the annual report of the National Christian Council of China (1928-1929), eight problems were identified as hindering the Christianisation of Chinese households and among these was the issue of keeping 'slave girls' or *mui tsai*.[2] *Mui tsai*, following Angelina Chin's definition, were 'young girls bought by families to work as domestic bond-servants until adolescence, when their owners usually disposed of them by marrying them out or taking them as concubines.'[3] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, there was a protracted colonial campaign against the employment and procurement of these young girls.

The campaign against their employment became known as the *mui tsai* controversy and involved actors from across British society. Historian John Carroll described the controversy as 'One of the most intense and protracted British colonial policy disputes of the interwar period'.[4] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the subject of *mui tsai* received a substantial amount of attention in the press and was even debated in the House of Commons in the British Parliament. Non-governmental organisations, such as the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, led the Western campaign

[1] SOAS Library, (UL/SOAS) WMA Minutes Correspondence 1926-1929, Box 4, File 3, *Dora Noltenuis to Miss Johnston, Jan 31, 1928*.
[2] Angus Library, (UO/AL) 'Review of the Work of the Committee on Christianizing the Home Six Years, 1923-1928', *National Christian Council of China, Annual Report 1928-1929*, p.62,
[3] Angelina Chin, *Bound to Emancipate: Working Women and Urban Citizenship in early Twentieth-Century China and Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK, Rowman and Littlefield, 2012, p.39.
[4] John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, Plymouth, UK, Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, p.110.

against the employment of *mui tsai*. By the 1930s, the controversy was on the agenda of the League of Nations and was the subject of an inquiry. The inquiry was known as the Woods Commission (1937), a travelling three-person commission who were tasked with investigating the prevalence of *mui tsai* throughout Hong Kong and Malaya. The campaign also received attention from Britain's newly enfranchised women's movement.

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, there is a well-established historiography on the *mui tsai* controversy. This historiography has examined the controversy as part of the history of female labour, and of domestic service.[5] Historians, such as Susan Pederson, have examined the controversy as part of a wider transnational context of imperial history that paid particular reference to the participation of women.[6] There have also been attempts to broaden the scholarship to include analysis of the controversy through ideas of Chineseness and the developing feminist movements.[7] While many of the academic studies of the controversy acknowledge the contribution of missionaries to the debates, there is no further elaboration of the role they played.

The role of the missionary within the *mui tsai* debates is more complicated than might be assumed. Many activist societies back in London relied on the information coming in from missionaries in the field to inform their campaigns. Organisations such as the Association for Social and Moral Hygiene and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society were in regular contact with missionaries and missionary societies. Despite this apparent reliance, the

---

[5] See Chin, *Bound to Emancipate*, pp.61-2; Gail Hershatter, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Centur*y, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007; Claire Lowrie, *Masters and Servants; Cultures of Empire in the Tropics*, Manchester, UK, Manchester University Press, 2016; Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, 'Child Slavery, Sex Trafficking or Domestic Work? The League of Nations and its Analysis of the *Mui Tsai* System' in Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk and Silke Neunsinger (eds), *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, Leiden, Netherlands, Brill, 2015, pp.428-450.

[6] See Susan Pederson, 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over 'Child Slavery' in Hong Kong 1917-1941', *Past & Present*, No. 201, 2008, pp.161-202.

[7] See Sarah Paddle, 'The Limits of Sympathy: International Feminists and the Chinese 'Slave Girl' Campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2003; Karen Yuen, 'Theorizing the Chinese: The Mui Tsai Controversy and Constructions of Transnational Chineseness in Hong Kong and British Malaya', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2004, pp.95-110.

archives are, at times, patchy when it comes to missionary voices in regards to this issue. Missionary correspondence indicates that, at least on an organisational level, rules and regulations of missionary societies recommended that missionaries distance themselves from political debate, potentially stifling any missionary intervention into the campaign.[8] However, correspondence and archival records also reveal that missionaries were aware of the campaign and greatly concerned about the welfare of the young girls involved.

While a campaign to 'save' young girls from 'slavery' would appear to be the objective of the Protestant rescue project, this chapter illustrates that the reality was more complicated. First, this chapter looks briefly at the chronology of the *mui tsai* controversy from 1879-1938. It then examines the work of missionaries within the controversy focusing on missionary commentaries and rescue homes. The chapter then looks at the ways in which anti-slavery advocates used the resources of missionaries to legitimise and support their campaigns. The main sources for this chapter are the papers of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, and the personal papers and correspondence of missionaries with the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the China Inland Mission (CIM), and the Presbyterian Church of England Missionary Society.

One of the issues with locating the missionary perspective on the *mui tsai* controversy is that much of the commentaries featured in this chapter were not found in missionary archives. Information regarding missionary rescue homes established in Southern China was located in the archives of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. Commentary from a dissenting missionary is housed in the collections of the Association of Moral and Social

[8] For example, in April 1936 the secretary of the Church Missionary Society wrote to the British Commonwealth League in response to a request to be represented on a deputation to the Chairman of the Commission on the Mui-tsai system. In this response the secretary wrote while the society was interested in this question it was not their practice to be represented on such deputations. Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1 (1936/6)

Hygiene. This has resulted in the voices of anti-slavery advocates being louder than the voices of missionaries. The incomplete nature of many missionary societies archival collections has also exacerbated this issue.

The *Mui tsai* Controversy in the Nineteenth Century

At the heart of the *mui tsai* debate was the legality of the employment of young girls as domestic servants. Different parties used competing ideas to frame the employment of *mui tsai*; the colonial government in Hong Kong tended to characterise their employment as domestic servants as part of a traditional Chinese custom, while reformers in the metropole used the rhetoric of slavery**.** Allegations of trafficking in women were used by British activists to justify their intervention into the institution. While *mui tsai* were employed in both China and Hong Kong, the majority of the political debate was centred on the British colonies of Hong Kong, Malaya, and Singapore. The term *mui tsai* is a Cantonese rendering of the term *mei-zi* which roughly translates as 'little sister' and was used commonly in the Hong Kong region.[9] Other regional variants included *pei nu* and *ya tou* which were often used throughout mainland China.[10] Missionary documents and Chinese Christians often referred to the girls as 'slave girls'.

It should be acknowledged that the term 'slave girls' is problematic. Unlike Western notions of slavery, which are often synonymous with chattel slavery, Asian terms for a slave can also mean ''debtor', 'dependant' or 'subject''.[11] Angela Schottenhammer identifies Asian slavery as typifying three main categories of slavery – those who were seized by the invading Manchu army and forced to serve in the Manchu army; debt-bonders, people who sold

[9] Rachel Leow, "'Do you own non-Chinese mui tsai?' Re-examining Race and Female Servitude in Malaya and Hong Kong. 1919-1939". *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol. 46. No. 6, 2012, p.1746.
[10] Yuen, 'Theorizing the Chinese', p.97.
[11] Angela Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China (Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)' in Gwyn Campbell (ed.) *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean, Africa and Asia*, London, UK, Frank Cass Publishers, 2004, p.143.

themselves in order to pay off debts; and those who were the victims of trafficking and kidnapping who were then sold as concubines, prostitutes, or wives. The Qing criminal courts also sentenced people to serve as slaves as punishment for their crimes.[12] *Mui tsai* do not fit neatly into any of these categories; they would most likely straddle the line between the second and third categories, the fact that they could earn their freedom from service further denies them definition by these categories.

While the practice of 'adopting' *mui tsai* had existed for some time it was not until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which brought an increased number of British colonists to Hong Kong; that its existence came under British and foreign scrutiny.[13] Judge John Smale, following an 1870s court case involving two alleged *mui tsai*, first raised the legality of the employment of *mui tsai*. He claimed that there was 'widespread trafficking within Hong Kong with slaves numbering around ten thousand'.[14] Having abolished slavery earlier in the century, the British were quick to point out evidence of slavery in other societies, even while ignoring their own trade in Chinese labourers.[15] Smale, in his judgement published in 1879, wrote that there were 'two classes of slavery in Hongkong …so called domestic slavery and slavery for the purposes of prostitution.'[16] He went on to declare all slavery illegal, writing: 'It seems to me that all slavery – domestic, agrarian, or for immoral purposes comes within one and the same category.'[17] Dr. E. J. Eitel, Chief Secretary to the government, disagreed. In a report to the government in the same year, Eitel argued that the status of *mui tsai* should be considered

[12] Schottenhammer, 'Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China', pp.144-145.
[13] Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, p.59.
[14] Harriet Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign? The Campaign to Abolish Child Slavery in Hong Kong, 1919-1938,' *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2007, p.364.
[15] See Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indenture Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba*, Phildephia, Temple University Press, 2008.
[16] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/C CH/O 13/8, Slavery in Hongkong, Judicial Declaration by the Chief Justice Sir John Smale, that Slavery in Every Form in Hongkong is Illegal and must be put down, 1879, p.4.
[17] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/C CH/O 13/8, Slavery in Hongkong, Judicial Declaration by the Chief Justice Sir John Smale, that Slavery in Every Form in Hongkong is Illegal and must be put down, 1879, p.10.

in the context of Chinese familial transactions which were almost always accompanied by an exchange of money and, therefore, was not comparable to the chattel slavery that existed elsewhere.[18]

Following these criticisms, colonial authorities and Chinese merchants moved to put in place provisional protections for the *mui tsai*. The Po Leung Kuk, discussed in chapter four and also referred to as the Society for Protection of Women and Children, was founded in 1880. While it was founded by the British colonial authorities, it was managed by Chinese elites and acted to reduce the number of women and children being sold and to provide relief for *mui tsai*, prostitutes and other women who had suffered some form of abuse.[19] Its main purpose was to reduce the number of kidnapped and trafficked girls. In addition to the establishment of the Po Leung Kuk, an inquiry, completed by a Hong Kong judge in 1886, issued the recommendation that laws be strengthened to prevent abuses. The inquiry did not, however, recommend abolition of the *mui tsa*i system. In response to the inquiry, the Ordinance for the Better Protection of Young Girls was enacted in 1887, establishing the legal guardianship of young girls with the Secretary for Chinese Affairs in cases of dispute.[20] The founding of the Po Leung Kuk and the enactment of the Ordinance for the Better Protection of Young Girls appeared to have satisfied critics and questions in regards to the *mui tsai* as the debate abated until the interwar period.

Historian Susan Pederson argues that it was a British woman called Clara Haslewood who helped to reignite the debate in 1919.[21] Haslewood, the wife of a British naval officer stationed in Hong Kong, attended a sermon at St John's Cathedral where the Reverend Copley

[18] Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign?', p.364.
[19] Angelina Chin, 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong: a Case of the Po Leung Kuk in the 1930s', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2013, p.135.
[20] Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign?', p.364.
[21] Pederson, 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy', p.161.

Moyle spoke of the 'evils of the *mui tsai* system'.[22] In her book *Child Slavery in Hong Kong* (1930) Haslewood recalled 'it was a profound shock to realise that beneath the flag of England small children and young girls were being sold and resold at a profit.'[23] Shortly afterwards Haslewood claimed to have witnessed the abuse of a *mui tsai*, and when she went to report the incident, she was rebuffed.[24] This event prompted Haslewood and her husband to mount a campaign against the institution of *mui tsai*.

The British campaign in Hong Kong was complicated by the apparent dissolution of the *mui tsai* institution on mainland China following the establishment of the republic in 1911. In the early days of the republican government, China officially banned the buying and selling of people, a move that was embarrassing for the colonial administration in Hong Kong as the *mui tsai* controversy demonstrated. Though, as Suzanne Miers observed, the official ban was often misinterpreted, 'children could still be hired to strangers up to the age of twenty-five and parents could be paid at the time of hiring.'[25] This meant that the acquisition of *mui tsai* was still legal on mainland China.

The Hong Kong campaign reached London in the early part of 1922. In correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, and the Governor of Hong Kong, Reginald Stubbs, Churchill declared, 'It is impossible for me to defend the existence of such an institution in a British colony if I am unable to state that no slightest element of

[22] Stuart Wolfendale, *Imperial to International: A History of St John's Cathedral, Hong Kong*, Hong Kong, University of Hong Kong Press, 2013, p.138.
[23] Haslewood, Clara and Haslewood, Lt. Col. Hugh, *Child Slavery in Hong Kong: The mui tsai system*, London, UK, Sheldon Press, 1930, p.13.
[24] Haslewood and Haslewood, *Child Slavery in Hong Kong*, p.14.
[25] Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem*, Walnut Creek, CA, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003, p.158.

compulsory employment is involved.'[26] In March the same year, Churchill was questioned about the *mui tsai* institution in the House of Commons in response to which he said,

> the Governor and I are determined to effect the abolition of the system at the earliest practicable date and I have indicated to the Governor that I expect the change to be carried out within a year.[27]

However, Governor Stubbs was less enthusiastic about a complete abolition of *mui tsai* and argued that it would leave many of the girls in a worse situation.[28] Regardless, by the end of 1922, the 1923 Female Domestic Service Ordinance was forced through the Hong Kong legislative council. The ordinance required *mui tsai* to be registered and paid wages, and prohibited the further acquisition of *mui tsai.* Colonial authorities within Hong Kong were not receptive to these measures as they did not find them realistic and maintained that the employment of *mui tsai* was a Chinese custom and not slavery.

The debate abated for some years until 1927 when the Anti-Mui Tsai Society, formed in 1921, requested that the government register all transferred and adopted girls in accordance with the 1923 legislation. In 1929 the colonial government's failure to enforce the 1923 legislation was exposed in a letter published in the *Manchester Guardian*.[29] The secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and liberal politician, John Harris, wrote the letter. Following this, an amendment to the 1923 legislation was passed in the same year which enforced the provisions of the previous legislation with the added requirement that *mui tsai* must be granted freedom at the age of eighteen. However, the new amendment did little to

[26] Hong Kong Government Reports Online (1842-1941) (HKGRO) SP1929, No. 1. Telegram from Secretary of State to Governor, 22 February 1922, *Correspondence relating to the Mui Tsai Question*,
[27] HKGRO, SP1929, No. 4. Telegram from Secretary of State to Governor, 21 March 1922, *Correspondence relating to the Mui Tsai Question*,.
[28] HKGRO SP1929, No. 5. Telegram from Governor to Secretary of State, 28 March 1922, *Correspondence relating to the Mui Tsai Question*,
[29] Pederson, 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy', p.177.

appease the campaigners in Britain who proceeded to bring the controversy to the attention of the League of Nations.

In the early 1930s, pressure on colonial powers increased with the publication of an article in the journal of the Women's Freedom League and a report written by Sir George Maxwell. Maxwell, who was the British member of the permanent Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery to the League of Nations, had been charged with writing a report on the *mui tsai* system in which he made several proposals. Historian Harriet Samuels posits that by using the League, campaigners were able to establish standards to which governments could potentially be held accountable to as a result of the Temporary Slavery Commission's Slavery Convention of 1926.[30] Maxwell's report was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe. When other governments were invited to comment on the report, the Hong Kong government formed a committee, established in 1934, known as the Loseby Committee. The Loseby Committee concluded that the report was 'inconclusive and overly conservative.'[31]

Further pressure from lobbyists was put on the colonial government. The result was a three-person commission that was sent to investigate the issue of *mui tsai* throughout Hong Kong and Malaya, known as the Woods Commission (1937), appointed by the Colonial Secretary, William Ormsby-Gore. The majority report of the Woods Commission did not recommend far reaching changes, believing the legislation that was currently in place was sufficient. This finding was disputed by the third member of the commission, Edith Picton-Turbervill. Picton-Turbervill released a separate report of findings that became known as the Minority Report.[32] This report recommended the registration of all transferred children including those that were adopted. This recommendation became the foundation for the 1938

[30] Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign?', p.372.
[31] Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign?', p.367; see also Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century*, p.222.
[32] Samuels, 'A Human Rights Campaign?', p.367.

legislation. This legislation required the registration of all transferred children not just the *mui tsai*, as well as inspections of *mui tsai* houses and searches for those who were unregistered.[33] Picton-Turbervill's report shifted the focus of colonial criticism regarding the *mui tsai* from a framework of slavey to one of child welfare and protection, potentially contributing to its success in enacting new legislation. The enactment of this legislation signalled the official end of the *mui tsai* institution. Over the following years there was a gradual decline in the acquisition of *mui tsai* until the 1950s when the practice died out.

The Advocacy of Missionaries

There appears to have been no concentrated missionary campaign against the employment of *mui tsai*. This differentiates missionaries in China and Hong Kong from missionaries in other mission fields like India and Africa where women were active in politically charged debates. Missionaries in India, particularly women missionaries, were among some of the most vocal advocates against the Indian practice of widow burning or *sati*.[34] In the Belgian Congo in Africa, missionary Alice Seeley Harris led the campaign against the exploitation of the Congolese people under the regime of King Leopold II of Belgium through her photography and magic lantern lectures.[35] This was not the situation in China and Hong Kong. However, as previous chapters of this thesis have shown missionaries were in contact with individual *mui tsai* and were helping them through their schools, like the Victoria Home, and their medical projects, such as the work of Dr Ruth Massey. Despite not necessarily leading political campaigns against the employment of *mui tsai*, there was still an abundance of missionary commentary on *mui tsai* and the idea of Chinese slavery.

[33] Chin, *Bound to Emancipate,* p.48.
[34] Claire Midgely, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865*, New York, NY, Routledge, 2007, pp.70-73.
[35] T. Jack Thompson, 'Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2002, p.146.

In 1891 an article titled 'Is Slavery as practised among the Chinese Immoral?' appeared in the Protestant missionary journal *The Chinese Recorder*. It was written by Reverend Thomas McCloy, a doctor and missionary with the American Southern Baptist Mission, who was based in the city of Yangchow (Yangzhou). In the article, McCloy outlined his understanding of slavery and how it was practised in China. He began by declaring that the 'revolting slavery of the ancient world… [where] women and children… [were] driven by the lash to make bricks, or chained to the oars of the war galley' does not exist in China.[36] He continued, explaining that he was examining what he termed domestic slavery and not the slavery of 'ancient China', that is, slaves of the state and war. McCloy's examination of slavery in China was based on determining whether or not the practice was immoral using principles from Wayland's Moral Philosophy.[37] These principles included physical liberty, religious liberty, and intellectual liberty.[38]

McCloy applied these three principles to two key contentions in his examination of slavery – the existence of slaves and the treatment of slaves. His main argument for the existence of slaves in China was that parents sell their children and that people were being either tricked or abducted into slavery. However, for McCloy, it was the *treatment* of the slaves that formed the crux of his argument. While he acknowledged that some people were good to their slaves and maintained positive relationships with them, he focused mostly on cases of abuse. He recounted one instance where a slave was reportedly branded with a hot iron on the hand because they forgot to bring the mid-day meal. He then goes on to recount things that a slave was not allowed to do, such as marry outside of the slave class. McCloy concluded that

[36] Rev. Thomas McCloy, 'Is Slavery as practised among the Chinese Immoral', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 1891, p.567.
[37] Presumably McCloy is referring *to The Elements of Moral Science* originally published in 1835 by Francis Wayland, a professor of Moral Philosophy at Brown University.
[38] McCloy, 'Is Slavery as practised among the Chinese Immoral', pp.567-568.

'slavery, as practised in China, is immoral.'[39] He stated that the abusive and restrictive treatment of slaves violated all three principles that he laid out as the basis of his examination. Articles like McCloy's were often a springboard for missionaries and missionary organisations to hold discussions about how to help, through Christianity, those whom missionaries believed to be victims of slavery.

In fact, the existence of slavery was often used by missionaries, in many locales, to signify that a culture was 'heathen' and in need of intervention. In the 1878 edition of *The Chinese Recorder,* Canadian-born Jennie Fowler Willing, one of the founders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and professor at Illinois Wesleyan University, published an essay entitled, 'The Intellectual Uses of the Women's Foreign Missionary Work'. In this essay she replayed the trope of orientalism that depicted women as slaves, writing, that 'heathen women' were 'kept in utter ignorance, that they may be held as the slaves of the lust or of the greed of men.'[40] Her writing was evocative:

> The lantern has been held up that its light might penetrate heathen gloom, and some rays have stolen backward over Christian society. The harem and seraglio were found to be altogether unlike the pictures in Lalla Rookh – full of gentle beauties reclining on silken cushions, fanned by slaves, fed on dainties, ... The women in them were slaves, with not one right secure.'[41]

Even though she published this piece in the *Chinese Recorder,* she was not describing China, but a generic Orient, her imagery was drawn from sources like Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh,* published in 1817, which by 1877 had become the subject of musical interpretation. The link

[39] McCloy, 'Is Slavery as practised among the Chinese Immoral', p.573.
[40] Jennie Fowler Willing, 'The Intellectual Uses of the Women's Foreign Missionary Work', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Volume IX, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878, p.217.
[41] Willing, 'The Intellectual Uses of the Women's Foreign Missionary Work', p. 219.

to slavery implied that the intervention into Chinese and other 'oriental' cultures was justified; given the missionary belief that the adoption of Christianity would see an end to these practices.

This preoccupation with slavery was a common feature of advocacy during this period. Despite the Emancipation Act of 1833 and the almost complete suppression of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade by the 1870s, many advocates recognised that chattel slavery still existed beyond the reaches of the British Empire.[42] According to historian Kevin Grant, the labour laws of the time outlawed chattel slavery but introduced new conditions of servitude, such as indentured labour and master-apprentice arrangements, that held former slaves to almost identical conditions.[43] According to advocates this was a thinly veiled version of slavery.[44] With this history it is easy to see how missionaries saw the conditions that mui tsai worked under and came to the conclusion that they were victims of slavery.

The employment of *mui tsai* was of great concern to missionaries in China. They saw the custom of employing young girls as domestic servants as a form of slavery that instituted abuse and neglect. American medical missionary Dr Elliot Irving Osgood claimed that while some of the girls were treated by their employers 'as though it were their own child… frequently there creep out to the world stories of terrible treatment.'[45] It was through these cases of 'terrible treatment' that missionaries in China came into contact with the *mui tsai*, as the injured girls were often brought to their medical missions, hospitals, dispensaries, and refuges. Osgood claimed that, 'Families who may wish a for girl servant find the solution in buying one of these waifs and rearing it as a slave.'[46]

[42] Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926*, London, UK, Taylor and Francis, 2004, p.21.
[43] Grant, *A Civilised Savagery*, p.22.
[44] Grant, *A Civilised Savagery*, p.22.
[45] Elliott Irving Osgood, *Breaking Down Chinese Walls: From a Doctor's Point of View*, New York, NY, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, p.142.
[46] Osgood, *Breaking Down Chinese Walls*, p.142.

However, not all missionary commentary on the subject of *mui tsai* condemned the practice. Some, like LMS missionary Reverend T. W. Pearce, argued that the institution was sometimes beneficial. In an interview with the Hong Kong *China Mail* in 1919, Pearce expressed his support of the *mui tsai* institution. The reporter opened the interview with the question, 'In your opinion… does the sale and purchase of children in Hongkong amount to slavery as understood by the Westerner?' To which Pearce replied, 'No, I do not think so. In the large majority of cases the children are kindly treated and are far better off than they would otherwise be.'[47] When asked about the financial side of the institution Pearce replied:

> It is a custom of China and it is the manner in which Chinese secure domestic service, although it must be admitted the child is not free in the sense understood by (say) the domestic servant in Europe. In very few cases does one come across cruelty.[48]

This opinion was shared by the colonial government in Hong Kong which defended the institution on the grounds that it was a Chinese custom. However, it was a minority opinion among missionaries. Most missionaries held the opinion that the institution was an indicator of the low social standing of women in Chinese society and maintained that only the introduction of Christianity could improve conditions for women and girls.

At a study group meeting of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in the early 1930s, there was discussion as to how Christianity could help not just 'slave girls' but women in general.[49] As part of the discussion Mrs Rogers, a member of the Presbyterian Church of

[47] The Women's Library, 3AMS/D/20, Box 115, Folder 2, *More Interviews about Slavery*, 1919.
[48] The Women's Library, 3AMS/D/20, Box 115, Folder 2, *More Interviews about Slavery*, 1919.
[49] The Student Volunteer Missionary Union was formed in 1892, following the influence of activists of the American Young Men's Christian Association, when British university students pledged themselves to overseas missionary work. The Student Volunteer Missionary Union was the first in a wave of student missionary movements to form at the end of the nineteenth century. The establishment of student missionary societies brought a number of middle and upper-class women into the foreign missionary movement and led to a professionalisation of the missionary movement. It also provided women with another avenue into the larger networks of the foreign missionary movement. Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith,*

England's Women's Missionary Association, gave a lecture on Chinese womanhood. In the discussion about Chinese women and womanhood Rogers made specific mention of the 'slave girls'. Rogers claimed, 'In times of famine or want, poor families not infrequently resort to selling their baby girls for a few dollars.'[50] She told the story of a family who had been forced off their profitable farmland yet, despite facing starvation and being forced into begging on the streets, they refused to 'sell' their young female child. Rogers continued with, 'But it is under circumstances like theirs that children are sold or sometimes with less cause when there is just another mouth to feed and that one, one too many!'[51] Of the fates of these children, Rogers claimed that they may end up in a good home as a member of the household intended to marry the son, a common marriage practice of the working class in China. She also stated that the child has an 'equal chance probably that she may become the slave of a wealthy household ill-treated, overworked and under-fed.'[52]

Rogers believed that Christianity should play a significant role in eliminating slavery as it was practised in China. She spoke of a refuge home at Kulangsu (Gulangyu Island, Xiamen) where a runaway slave was taken to and looked after. She said that the young girl's case was investigated and that due to mistreatment she was not allowed to return to her owners, an outcome afforded by the significant Christian presence where the refuge was located.[53] She acknowledged that there were some refuges for runaway slave girls being established in China and she credited these as evidence that Christianity was spreading throughout China. However,

Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915, Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014, pp.240-241.

[50] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6, Part 2, File 8, Mrs Rogers, *Chinese Womanhood*.
[51] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6, Part 2, File 8, Mrs Rogers, *Chinese Womanhood*.
[52] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6, Part 2, File 8, Mrs Rogers, *Chinese Womanhood*.
[53] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6, Part 2, File 8, Mrs Rogers, *Chinese Womanhood*.

she also believed that young Christian girls in China could do more to support their 'less fortunate sisters'.[54]

Rodgers was not alone in believing that young girls had a role to play in the anti-slavery campaigns. Much of the missionary literature that opposed the 'slave girls' was aimed at young British and Christian children. One such article in 1933, called '*Mui tsai*, or Chinese Slave-Girls', appeared in *The Rising Tide*, a children's missionary journal published by the Presbyterian Church of England.[55] The article opened by asking the question, 'Is it true that there are slave-girls in China?'[56] It claimed that the practice was a 'deep rooted custom in Chinese social life' and that even places such as Hong Kong, where there were campaigns to 'stamp it out', it was almost impossible to do so.[57] The article described the work of some refuges for these young girls in Amoy (Xiamen), the Kulangsu Children's Refuge which was associated with Presbyterian missionaries, and the Society for the Relief of Chinese Slave-Girls, which was run by a Chinese Christian.[58] The Kulangsu Children's Refuge was the same home that Dora Noltenius worked at and was probably also the home referred to by Mrs Rogers. The article mostly repeated what had been written in pamphlets for the two homes named but did so in a way that highlighted what missionaries believed to be the 'horrors' of the *mui tsai* institution.

Missionaries and Rescue

Missionaries did not just comment on the *mui tsai* institution they also got involved in the lives of some of the young girls who were *mui tsai*. They did so under the guise of various missionary rescue and conversion projects in what can be referred to as the Protestant rescue project. As

[54] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6, Part 2, File 8, Mrs Rogers, *Chinese Womanhood*.
[55] The British Library, R. H. Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', *The Rising Tide*, May 1933, p.72.
[56] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.72.
[57] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.72.
[58] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.72.

discussed in chapter four, missionaries established schools that primarily recruited girls deemed to be of the rescue class. Missionaries also came into contact with *mui tsai* through their medical missions also part of the Protestant rescue project, as the stories of Dr Ruth Massy and Dr Alexander Watson showed. The most common missionary project that brought missionaries into contact with *mui tsai* were the rescue homes that they established, such as the Victoria Home in Hong Kong discussed in chapter four. While the Victoria Home was among one of the largest rescue organisations established by protestant missionaries, it was not the only rescue organisation established by missionaries for rescued girls. Another such home was the Kulangsu Children's Home in Amoy (Xiamen).

Correspondence by Presbyterian missionary Dora Noltenius written in January 1928 implies that the Kulangsu home was operating when she referred to the servants and 'young slaves in the children's homes.' However, Amoy mission council meeting minutes from June 1928 suggests it was not officially part of the mission. In the minutes, under the heading 'Girls' Slave Refuge, Kulangsu, Amoy', the executive committee wrote, 'in the event of being invited to do so, the Mission would co-operate by appointing a trustee for the property acquired for the Girls' Slave Refuge on Kulangsu'.[59] The committee explained that despite appointing a trustee they were not financially responsible for the refuge.[60] It could be that 1928 saw the mission formalise their role in the rescue of young girls and this dialogue was the start of that process. In 1932, the home was described as a refuge for 'slave girls' that was 'run by some missionaries together with some Chinese.'[61]

[59] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes Correspondence 1926-1929, Box 4, File 3, 'Amoy Mission Council Minutes', June 1928, p.1.
[60] SOAS Library, WMA Minutes Correspondence 1926-1929, Box 4, File 3, 'Amoy Mission Council Minutes', June 1928, p.1.
[61] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.72.

In 1930 another home was established in Amoy for the rescue of young 'slave girls', known as the Society for the Relief of Chinese Slave Girls, established by Xu Chuncao, a Chinese Christian. According to historian Chris White, the establishment of the home in Amoy was indicative of the growing Chinese campaign against the employment of *mui tsai*, or *binü* as they were known in this part of China, that was influenced by the campaigns in Hong Kong.[62] The home was a departure from the original model of missionary rescue homes as this home was run by Chinese Christians. White posits that while 'the Asylum was not a "church" establishment, it was definitely a Christian institution.'[63] Despite not being missionary-run it was still referred to by missionaries in China. In his 1932 article in *The Rising Tide*, missionary R. H. Mobbs made a direct reference to the refuge. Mobbs quoted a pamphlet written by Chuncao: 'You wicked devils who keep slave girls, you enemies of the people and robbers of the public. The Society for the Relief of Chinese Slave Girls will fight against you'.[64] Mobbs went so far as to describe Chuncao as 'a very brave Chinese, who well deserves the title of the Fourth Brave Man.'[65]

In Yunnanfu (Kunming), located in southern inland China, a group of British and American missionary women opened a home for the young 'slave girls.' However, with the exception of a few years, the home was run by a group of German missionary sisters of the Protestant Marburg Yunnan Mission - a mission affiliated with the China Inland Mission.[66] According to Maria Jaschok, the mission was originally founded in 1930 under the auspices of the China Inland Mission but received funding from the London based Anti-Slavery and

[62] Chris White, '"To rescue the wretched ones": Saving Chinese Slave Girls in Republican Xiamen', *Twentieth Century-China*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2014, p.45.
[63] White, '"To rescue the wretched one"', p.48.
[64] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.73.
[65] Mobbs, 'Mui Tsai, or Chinese Slave-Girls', p.72.
[66] Maria Jaschok, 'Chinese 'Slave' Girls in Yunnan-Fu: saving (Chinese) Womanhood and (Western) Souls, 1930-1991' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Books, 1994, p.173.

Aborigines Protection Society.[67] This funding arrangement explains the society's interest and use of the home in its anti-slavery campaign as is discussed later in the chapter. Unlike other mission homes, this home was a joint project between missionaries and anti-slavery advocates. The home was founded due to missionary apprehension about the adequacy of the response of the Chinese authorities to the issue. Such reservation was expressed by missionary Maud Dymond, who after visiting a government Industrial Home for Runaway Slave Girls, penned a letter to John Harris of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. In it she wrote: 'They were in a filthy condition and treated like animals… We feel that we must establish a Christian Home and work with Christian Chinese'.[68] Dymond felt that by working with the Chinese Christians she could raise greater awareness of the issue among the Chinese population as a whole.[69]

Rescue homes were also opened in northern China, the most well-known home being the Door of Hope mission in Shanghai. This home was opened in 1901 by a group of Anglo-American missionaries who were based in the International Settlement of Shanghai.[70] According to historian Christian Henriot, the missionaries were inspired to open the home after missionary Cornelia Bonnel, witnessed the abuse of a young *mui tsai* in a crowded street where no one went to the child's aid.[71] According to Sue Gronewold, by the 1930s the home was under the jurisdiction of the China Inland Mission, who had headquarters in Shanghai.[72] While initially the home may have rescued *mui tsai*, over the time of its operation, before its close in

[67] Jaschok, 'Chinese 'Slave' Girls in Yunnan-Fu', p.173.
[68] Dymond to Harrris, 13 December 1929 qtd in Jaschok, 'Chinese 'Slave' Girls in Yunnan-Fu', p.174.
[69] Dymond to Harrris, 13 December 1929 qtd in Jaschok, 'Chinese 'Slave' Girls in Yunnan-Fu', p.174.
[70] Sue Gronewold, 'New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women: Competing Models at the Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai' in Barabara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2010, p.198.
[71] Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.336.
[72] Gronewold, 'New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women', p.198.

1951, the home became known for its rescue of Chinese prostitutes.[73] While not directly related to establishing rescue homes for *mui tsai,* many missionaries worried about *mui tsai* becoming the victims of trafficking for prostitution. As a result, the establishment of homes like the Door of Hope mission tapped into wider concerns about an international trade in Chinese girls.

Missionary concern about the traffic in young girls for prostitution reached its zenith during the anti *mui tsai* campaigns of the 1920s. This coincided with international concern about the traffic in women, a concern that was expressed prominently among the newly enfranchised women of England. The concern for trafficked women was not new to British feminists, but according to historian Katarina Leppänen, the interwar period saw trafficking concerns shift from being national based to being more international.[74] Prior to this period, abolitionists used the term 'white slavery' to refer to trafficked women, a term that incited a sense of 'moral indignation'.[75] The phrase 'traffic in women and children' was adopted in formal legislation in 1921 after a conference of the newly formed League of Nations held in Geneva. The conference delegates believed that the change in terms made it clear that any trafficking measures that were taken applied to everyone regardless of ethnicity.[76]

There is relatively little missionary commentary on the issue of prostitution and how it related to trafficking concerns. Gronewold's research into the Door of Hope mission is the most rigorous assessment of missionary interactions with Chinese prostitutes. However, despite the lack of sources it is reasonable to assume that missionaries came into contact with prostitutes through their various rescue projects. When missionaries referred to their rescue girls as

[73] For more about the Door of Hope's involvement in the rescue of Chinese prostitutes see Gronewold, 'New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women'; Sue Gronewold 'A New Family: Domesticity and Sentiment among Chinese and Western women at Shanghai's Door of Hope' in Hyaewol Choi and Margaret Jolly (eds) *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific,* Canberra, AUS, Australian National University Press, 2014, pp.281-298.
[74] Katarina Leppänen, 'Movement of women: Trafficking in the interwar era', *Women's Studies International Forum,* Vol. 30, 2007, p.524.
[75] Leppänen, 'Movement of women', pp.524-525.
[76] Leppänen, 'Movement of women', p.527.

'slaves' it is possible that missionaries were commenting on women and young girls who had run away from prostitution. However, due to their language these stories were not always clear.

The international concern surrounding the traffic in women is also reflected in the rescue projects of missionaries. A number of homes in the US and Canada were established in response to the trafficking and immigration of *mui tsai* and Chinese women. It should be acknowledged that term 'trafficked' was used rather loosely, and it was not always clear that women were actually forced or kidnapped, but much like *mui tsai,* were more likely travelling on a form of indentured contract. One home that was established for the rescue of prostitutes was the Presbyterian Mission Home in San Francisco. The home was founded in 1874 in response to a changing rhetoric among American Protestant missionaries in regards to prostitution. Historian Sara Refo Mason noted that the 1860s saw missionaries reconceptualise prostitutes as 'victims of a faulted environment than as victims of their own wrong decisions.'[77] The home was also established during the period in which missionary women were starting than own missionary boards and societies in America. These moves could also be indicative of the increasing autonomy of the women's missionary movement. Again, like the Door of Hope Mission, this mission was not specifically established for the rescue of *mui tsai,* however, it is possible that a number of *mui tsai* found their way to the mission home. The establishment of homes like this demonstrates that missionaries were engaging with the wider international concerns and implications of the alleged traffic in women. Indeed, the Victoria Home in Hong Kong received a young girl who had been trafficked to San Francisco and returned to Hong Kong by missionaries, as discussed in chapter four.

[77] Sara Refo Mason, 'Social Christianity, American Feminism and Chinese Prostitutes: The History of the Presbyterian Mission Home, San Francisco, 1874-1935' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, London, UK, Zed Book, p.204.

An international refuge that was established for the rescue of *mui tsai* was the Chinese Rescue Home, later known as the Oriental Home and School, in Victoria, Canada. The home was established in 1886 initially for the purpose of rescuing prostitutes. Over time, however, its purpose was expanded to include *mui tsai*. According to the home's chronicler, Shelley Ikebuchi, Victoria's large Chinese population, around 18% of the total population, was predominantly male. Chinese women were regarded with suspicion and as already being employed as a prostitute or likewise.[78] For the white women who ran the home, this meant that they needed to be rescued.[79] Again demonstrating the maternalism that could dominate and define the women's missionary movement. Like the Victoria Home in Hong Kong, the rescue home in Canada had a focus on domesticity and the ways in which this could aid in the rescue of these young girls. It also revealed an emerging female leadership within the missionary movement.[80]

Historian Dan Cui in his evaluation of the contribution of British missionaries to the development of China's national policy during the 1920s gave missionary women substantial credit in the campaign to emancipate Chinese women. He wrote that while there were no 'great intellectual movements' in Chinese history in regard to Chinese women, missionary women did help 'Chinese women penetrate the male world of action and thought'.[81] Cui singles out the missionary campaign against the employment of *mui tsai* as one of their major contributions to this due to the 'public opinion' they raised in regard to the issue.[82] On the other hand, Ikebuchi in her history of the Chinese Rescue Home, discusses the instances in which the rescue

[78] Shelley Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation: Gender, Race and Victoria's Chinese Rescue Home*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2015, p.4.
[79] Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, p.34.
[80] Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, pp.6-7.
[81] Dan Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development during the 1920s*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, 1998, p.309.
[82] Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries*, p.316.

girls ran away, arguing that this raises questions about the willingness of girls to enter these homes and be rescued.[83]

Advocate Use of Missionary Resources

One of the issues with highlighting the missionary perspective on the *mui tsai* institution, as mentioned earlier, is that much of this commentary is located in archives and alongside the voices of anti-slavery advocates. These anti-slavery advocates were often the louder voices in the ongoing conversation. The main advocate societies were the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.[84] Other advocates involved were individuals who were associated with these societies. The campaigns of these societies and individuals in regards to the *mui tsai* institution were reliant on the experience of missionaries working on the ground in China and Hong Kong.

One example which illustrates the connections between missionaries in the field and anti-slavery advocates, was a letter sent to the Anti-Slavery Society regarding the establishment of a rescue home for young girls who were *mui tsai*. The letter was reprinted as part of a pamphlet in the society's anti-*mui tsai* campaign, published around 1930, and quotes a number of missionaries discussing the abuses of the *mui tsai* institution. Mr Coates, who is described as being a missionary for twenty years, was quoted as saying, 'The trodden misery of these children is hidden away in the back-rooms of castigated drudgery in the Chinese home, voiceless, unseen, unchampioned, and without hope.'[85] He went on to say that, 'Individual cruelties which would electrify any country in Europe with a spasm of horror hardly awaken

[83] Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, pp.4-5.
[84] The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society is a result of the merger of the Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1823, and the Aborigines Protection Society, founded in 1837. The two societies merged in 1909.
[85] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/2 (Lady Simon's Papers), The Home for Freed Slaves in China, c.1930.

the mild comment of a single street in China's grand modern republic.'[86] Also quoted in the pamphlet was Mrs Dymond - presumably the same Mrs (Maud) Dymond who was in contact with the society, a missionary of nearly forty years in China. Dymond was quoted as saying, 'Slaves are tortured to death by the hands of merciless opium fiends, who go to unspeakable lengths in cruelty when their craving is unsatisfied.'[87] The archives of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society are littered with literature that uses these shock tactics in their publications, pamphlets and communication between prominent campaigners. Other Christian publications such as *The Child's Guardian* and the *Catholic Citizen* which also examined the *mui tsai* controversy employed these tactics as well.

This rescue work in China discussed earlier was also utilised by outside advocates in the campaign against the employment of 'slave girls'. The rescue home in Yunnanfu, for example, was referred to by anti-slavery advocates as an example of the work that was already being done in China to alleviate the alleged slavery of young girls The Yunnanfu home also featured in a propaganda pamphlet that was among the papers of anti-slavery advocate, Lady Kathleen Simon. In the pamphlet, the home was described as an experiment in the rescue of young 'slave girls'. The purpose of the pamphlet was, supposedly, to educate people about the situation of the 'slave girls'. The booklet stated that 'about thirty girls from time to time' had come through the home.[88] It gave details about the activities of the home and went on to ask 'Is this an adequate method of helping the slaves?' It provided the following reply,

[86] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/2 (Lady Simon's Papers), The Home for Freed Slaves in China, c.1930.
[87] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/2 (Lady Simon's Papers), The Home for Freed Slaves in China, c.1930.
[88] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/2 (Lady Simon's Papers), The Child Slaves of China.

> No, but it is an effort in the right direction. If homes were opened like this one up and down through China, where unwanted, runaway slave girls could take refuge, **that would be good**. If propaganda and literature were widespread, acquainting people with facts, rousing national conscience, **that would be better**. If legislation were enforced forbidding the sale of human flesh and blood, and making impossible the moral injustice of one man making a slave of another, **the goal would be reached** [emphasis in the original].[89]

While the author of the pamphlet is unknown, its inclusion in Simon's anti-*mui tsai* papers indicates that it was used by Simon and her fellow advocates in the campaign against the employment of *mui tsai*. This inclusion also speaks to the blurred geographic boundaries of the campaign. That is, while the political campaign mainly concerned Hong Kong, advocates drew on evidence from many provinces.

In 1935, the British Commonwealth League, a civil organisation that rose out of the women's suffrage movement in Britain, approached the CMS about a deputation investigating the *mui tsai*. They invited the society to have a representative on the deputation. In reply, the secretary of the China Committee of the CMS wrote,

> Our society is greatly interested in this question, but it has not been our practice to be represented on deputations of a similar nature in the past, and we feel that we can make our contribution towards the commission's work better through the representations of missionaries on the field.[90]

[89] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/2 (Lady Simon's Papers), The Child Slaves of China.
[90] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1, CMS Secretary to British Commonwealth League, 2 April 1935.

While the society was reluctant to be involved as an organisation, its leaders were happy to allow CMS missionaries to be interviewed by the commission as individuals. Throughout the 1930s, the CMS increasingly referred the names of individual missionaries to commissions and advocate societies in London. The thoughts and commentaries of these individual missionaries on the subject were often utilised by these advocate societies resulting in the missionary acting in the role of informant.

This practice was extended to John Harris of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society who, in 1935, wrote to the China Committee of the CMS asking for reports that relayed any information there was about the *mui tsai*. In particular, the society wished to acquire figures regarding the number of *mui tsai* and their salaries, reports into traffickers and their frequencies, as well as information about prosecutions.[91] The CMS replied with the names of some missionaries that they felt were able to answer the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society's questions,

> I think you will readily realise that the questions you wish to ask are not such as can be answered by us here in London…my best plan is to give the names…of our most trusted missionaries.[92]

In a further communication, the CMS gave the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society the name of Dr Alexander. J. Watson, a former medical missionary with the society. In this communication with the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, the CMS said they had recently met with Dr Watson, who had made a 'special study of [the] subject and [that he] would be glad to give information along the lines of your enquiry.'[93] Harris contacted Watson

[91] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1, John Harris to the Secretary of the China Committee, CMS, 10 October 1935.
[92] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1, Secretary of the China Committee, CMS to John Harris, 16 October 1935.
[93] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1, Secretary of the China Committee, CMS to John Harris, 25 October 1935.

and asked him the same questions that they put towards the society.[94] Upon receiving a reply, Harris wrote back thanking Watson for his reply, which he claimed: 'had the stamp of truth in every sentence'. He went on to write that the information had been included in a dossier that was being prepared on the subject. Harris noted that the file was confidential and that they were being 'very careful when making reference to the facts to avoid any disclosure of the name of the contributor.'[95]

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society had contact with other missionary societies as well. In 1937, they were organising a deputation to the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, William Ormsby-Gore. They contacted Reverend T. Cocker Brown of the CIM, and invited him to speak as part of the deputation. The deputation included other prominent anti-*mui tsai* and anti-slavery campaigners such as Lady Kathleen Simon, Lady Nancy Astor and Commander Hugh Haslewood (the husband of Clara Haslewood).[96] In response to the society's invitation, Cocker Brown outlined his major concerns in regards to the *mui tsai* which included the need to protect them from exploitation and for the law to provide them with care. His top priority, however, was, 'Their right to treatment as free personalities, not chattels and their right to freedom within the limits of the Chinese family system.'[97] Cocker Brown also acknowledged the widespread nature of the issue; his last priority for the deputation was: 'The necessity of dealing with the *mui tsai* system as part of the much wider question in China and not as a matter affecting Hong Kong and the Straits Settlement alone.'[98]

[94] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/OSD Chg Z1, John Harris to the Secretary of the China Committee, CMS, 29 October 1935.
[95]Unfortunately, incoming communication from 1935 to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has not survived so only one side of the communication with Dr Watson is available. The Bodleian Libraries, MSS Brit. Emp. S.19 D3/70, John Harris to Dr Watson, 8 November 1935.
[96] SOAS Library CWM 1941-1950 CH/43, John Harris to T Cocker Brown, 26 October 1937.
[97] SOAS Library CWM 1941-1950 CH/43, T Cocker Brown to John Harris, 1 November 1937.
[98] SOAS Library CWM 1941-1950 CH/43, T Cocker Brown to John Harris, 1 November 1937.

Missionaries and Politics

Despite not being at the forefront of the campaign, missionaries were still present within the debate. In 1920, papers of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society listed thirty-two missionary organisations in connection with their anti-slavery efforts in Hong Kong.[99] However, it is impossible to know what position these societies took in the debate. When missionary voices do appear in the campaign, they are most often the voices of individuals and not organisations. In response to Churchill's declaration that the *mui tsai* institution would be abolished within a year, Governor Stubbs noted the opinion of 'missionary advocates'.[100] His use of the term 'advocates' instead of societies, perhaps suggests that he was referring to individuals and not organisations. However, he did not provide the names of the individuals to which he was referring. In 1920, the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene compiled a list of people in Hong Kong who were 'actively' against slavery. Included in this list was CMS missionary Miss Pitts.[101] On an organisational level at least, it seems missionaries distanced themselves from the political debate.

This is true for the CMS who in their society's rules prohibited missionaries from becoming involved in local politics. This prohibition was included in the 1886 edition of the societies' laws and regulations in Part 6, which detailed specific instructions to missionaries regarding their behaviour in the field. Missionaries were instructed, 'not to take up supposed grievances too hastily' and instead wait and confer with other missionaries and ascertain the 'reality and importance of alleged social and civil wrong.'[102] The regulations did allow missionaries to become involved in political debates when not doing so would prevent them

[99] The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.22/G509, Missionary Societies Belonging to the Conference 1920, 1920.
[100] HKGRO, SP1929, No. 5. Telegram from Governor to Secretary of State, 28 March, 1922, *Correspondence relating to the Mui Tsai Question*.
[101] The Women's Library, 3AMS/D/19 Box 115 Folder 1, People in Hong Kong actively opposed to Slavery and who might be helpful to the A.M. and S.H., 1920.
[102] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G/A H 1/4 Laws and Regulations of the Church Missionary Society, Part VI Instructions to Missionaries, p.33.

from evangelising. However, they were warned not to become a 'merely political spirit'.[103] The society was concerned that if missionaries became political, it would result in hostility towards the 'ruling powers', or perhaps from the 'ruling powers', compromising their mission. It is not clear whether these rules were changed over time. However, the revised rules and regulations for foreign missionaries from the Church of England (the same church that governed the CMS) in Canada, published in 1916, contain no specific instructions about missionaries and politics, unlike the earlier 1886 rules and regulations.[104]

There does not appear to be any evidence to suggest that other societies put similar restrictions on their missionaries. Indeed, missionary participation in other campaigns, such as the *Sati* campaign, and the campaign in the Belgian Congo, suggest that missionaries were generally allowed to express and act upon political opinion. The restrictions placed on CMS missionaries is the potential result of the CMS's formal connections to empire. The CMS was the missionary arm of the Church of England which was the official religion of the British Empire. By restricting the political actions of CMS missionaries, officials may have been seeking to preserve their, sometimes, tenuous relationship with colonial authorities as well as their position in the mission field.

Missionaries in Hong Kong and China, more generally, were also concerned with preserving their position in the mission field, a position that could be impacted by competing interests. This conflict was particularly clear in Hong Kong. Authorities in London took the view of advocates, which is that the *mui tsai* system was akin to slavery and open to exploitation and abuse. Colonial authorities in Hong Kong were keeping to their position that it was a Chinese custom and that the girls often benefited from the system. Missionaries working in

[103] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, CMS/G/A H 1/4 Laws and Regulations of the Church Missionary Society, Part VI Instructions to Missionaries, p.34.
[104] *Revised Rules and Regulations for Foreign Missions*, Church Missionary Society, Church of England, Canada, 1916.

Chinese communities relied on congenial relationships with the Chinese communities to protect themselves and to be able to carry out their conversion work. They also relied on positive relations with the colonial authorities in Hong Kong. In an effort to preserve their mission and relations with all concerned parties, they often opted to remain silent. This approach is illustrated in a 1923 communication sent to Dame Rachel Crowdy, Chief of the Social Issues Section at the League of Nations,

> One letter which I received from a medical man in the territory of a Foreign Power gave evidence of six young girls being delivered to him every morning for selection… "owing to the very satisfactory relationships between the Missionary Society and the Government of the country, the mission wished no action whatever [to be] taken in the matter!"[105]

While the communication does not specify where this interaction took place, it nonetheless demonstrates the missionaries' desire to preserve and maintain their position in the mission field.

Much of the anti-*mui tsai* campaign was overwhelmed by discussion as to whether or not the *mui tsai* were slaves. For missionaries, however (as discussed in chapter three) all Chinese women and girls, as wives and daughters, were slaves of Chinese patriarchy. For missionaries, the 'rescue' and 'salvation' of these girls was core to their evangelisation efforts in China. Even if missionaries agreed that the institution of *mui tsai* was even more oppressive for women they did not see the solution lying in changes to legislation. Instead, they focussed on the introduction and adoption of Christianity. Conversion to Christianity, they believed, would effect cultural change and see an end to those practices.

[105] The letter does not name the region or the missionary society involved, nor does it identify the writer of the letter. The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.22/G509, Letter to Dame Rachel Crowdy, League of Nations, Geneva, 10 December 1923.

The apparent absence of missionary advocates fits into a wider narrative around the rise of secular advocates and missionaries. The most well-known of these societies was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an American women's organisation that sought social reform.[106] According to historian Ian Tyrell, the WCTU was only able to acquire the large reach that it had due to the preceding work of the women's missionary movement, but unlike the missionary movement the WCTU's goals were more political in nature. These political aims were based on Christian ideals but were not concerned with gospel conversion.[107] It is this form of advocacy that is present in the *mui tsai* campaign. Advocates such as the Haslewoods and Lady Simon were motivated by Christian ideals, but their advocacy was separated from the missionary desire for conversion. The rise in this type of advocacy could account for diminished role that missionaries appeared to play in this controversy.

Yet, as Grant has observed, missionaries were in a position to take a stance against alleged injustices, and did so in Africa on a large scale.[108] However, this intervention does appear to not be present in China and Hong Kong. Grant noted that at the time many leaders of Britain's left-wing politics ignored this contribution and instead focussed on radical personalities within the secular left. As a result, historians have also inadvertently missed this contribution.[109] Missionaries were substantial fundraisers in their own right and had large followings that they could mobilise on issues, it is reasonable to assume that they did have a significant role within this campaign. I believe that the lack of archival evidence of this role can be explained by the organisation of the archives. Many of the missionary contributions to this campaign were found not in missionary archives but in the archives of advocate societies, meaning the evidence of missionary activism may simply not have been located, yet. Historians

[106] Ian Tyrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1991, p.2.
[107] Tyrell, *Woman's World/ Woman's Empire*, p.2.
[108] Grant, *A Civilised Savagery*, p.30.
[109] Grant, *A Civilised Savagery*, p.30.

could also have unconsciously mimicked the bias of early twentieth century leaders and focussed on the radical personalities of the campaign and not have considered the role of missionaries.

Where there is archival evidence of missionary voices in the mui tsai debate, it appears to be overwhelmingly the voices of male missionaries. This is a point of differentiation for the missionaries as the formal anti-*mui tsai* campaign was characterised by a strong female voice. There is no clear explanation for this. It could perhaps represent power structures within the missionary movement. The female voice in the *mui tsai* controversy came largely from the newly enfranchised feminist movement. Many women missionaries were against this enfranchisement and did not believe that it was the most suitable role for women. However, this would not explain their previous participation in other political campaigns. It could also be the nature of the colonial archive, which so often excludes the voice of women. While women may not have been voicing opinions in any formal campaign, the work they were engaging in, like the establishment of refuges such as the Victoria Home and Lady Simon's Home for Freed Slaves, was in line with the aims of the *mui tsai* campaign. It also possible that women missionaries expressed their views in private communication that has not been collected in archival collections.

Conclusion

Missionary advocacy in China against the employment of *mui tsai* was characterised by debates surrounding the morality of the institution. While missionaries in Hong Kong were supported by the structures of colonialism, in China, with the exception of the treaty ports, they relied upon their ability to form relationships with the Chinese population. This resulted in missionaries starting a dialogue, as opposed to a formal campaign, about the so-called 'slave girls' who they saw as victims of domestic slavery.

In China, where missionaries were foreigners without colonial authority, they kept their distance from this controversial debate. When commentaries did appear, they were often couched in a moral and religious framework that helped to legitimise the missionary movement in China. This led to the Chinese campaign being more related to the overall Protestant rescue project. Advocates in Hong Kong speaking out on the *mui tsai* controversy relied on the commentaries of missionaries as well as their rescue work to further their campaigns. The literature of the campaigns relied on extreme examples of abuse and neglect suffered by 'slave girls' to amplify the 'horrors' of the institution to justify the intervention, in much the same way that missionaries used their publications to justify the more general intervention into Chinese culture.

The relatively small number of female missionary voices speaking out in the *mui tsai* controversy is curious. The official anti-*mui tsai* campaign was dominated by female voices, yet, this was not replicated within the missionary movement. It could simply be reflective of internal power structures within the missionary movement. Alternatively, perhaps women missionaries felt that there were more tangible contributions to be made to the debate by undertaking direct rescue work.

Conclusion

The British women's missionary movement reached its pinnacle of activity just after the turn of the twentieth century. This movement saw an unprecedented number of women enter into the mission field and provided them with new opportunities within a professional capacity that were beyond marriage or spinsterhood. In China, these women sought to define their relationships with Chinese women through a racialised and gendered lens, positioning themselves as the saviours of Chinese women. This logic informed the development of the Protestant rescue project. This project drew on ideas found in the existing child rescue movement. It consisted of a continual cycle of legitimisation and validation that relied on both acts of rescue and publishing literature for propaganda.

Missionaries gained access to China through imperial expansion in the mid-nineteenth century. However, prior to this a number of missionaries were able to enter China and establish small groups of Christian converts. Chief among these were the Jesuits who entered China in the sixteenth century. Britain was able to gain access to China as the result of the two Opium Wars, and missionaries benefitted from Britain's imperial aspirations in the region. The Treaty of Nanking and subsequent treaties gave missionaries not only easy entry into China but guaranteed them protection within the port cities that were opened to foreign trade. This process also saw Hong Kong become a British colony allowing missionary societies to proliferate in that colony. Following this large missionary societies like the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society were able to establish mission bases in China. They were followed by smaller faith missions such as the China Inland Mission which started out as the smallest missionary society working in China and became the largest missionary society in China. Women's missionary societies were also in China soon after the Opium wars. Mary Aldersey of the Female Education Society established the first school for girls in China in the treaty port of Ningbo.

While Aldersey's school in Ningbo was a start for the women's missionary movement in China, the movement gained prominence after the arrival of the China Inland Mission's Lammermuir Party in 1866. The Lammermuir Party was the largest single contingent of women missionaries to arrive in China at that time and was led by China Inland Mission founder James Hudson Taylor. The party consisted of seventeen missionaries among whom were eight single women. Before the arrival of the Lammermuir Party the vast majority of women missionaries were married women, and the Lammermuir Party marked the beginning of the targeted recruitment of single women missionaries. Once in China the missionaries of the China Inland Mission made their way inland. For many Chinese people, these missionaries were the first foreigners that they had encountered, and missionaries were often met with fear and apprehension. This fear led to incidences of violence including the Yangchau riot. The China Inland Mission missionaries sought to combat this fear by adopting Chinese dress in an effort to remove some of the foreign aspects of Christianity. The women who travelled with the party were given great autonomy within the mission and given the scope to start individual projects, which many of them did. For Hudson Taylor, single women were an integral part of his mission to China as they had the capacity to go where men were not allowed and were not burdened by the same familial responsibilities that married women were.

Following the example of the China Inland Mission, other missionary societies started to recruit single women to the mission field, this switch in recruitment started in the 1870s. It was argued by a number of prominent male missionaries, including Hudson Taylor, that the evangelical mission in China, simply could not be completed without single women. The numbers of single women grew exponentially during the late nineteenth century until they came to outnumber married women in the early twentieth century. Despite the focussed recruitment of single women missionaries, they did not replace the missionary wife. In the beginning single women missionaries were sent to assist missionary wives and often worked under the

leadership of the missionary wife. Women missionaries faced specific challenges in the mission field related to their work with Chinese women and children. These challenges sometimes pitted them against the overwhelming male leadership of the missionary movement, who, at times, treated women missionaries with condescension. Despite the slow acceptance of single women in the mission field they still played a large role within the missionary movement.

The rise of the British missionary movement and the increased prominence of single women missionaries within it took place against the backdrop of British imperial expansion. While missionaries were not directly involved in the negotiation of the unequal treaties that were forced on Chinese authorities, they did benefit from them. This benefit has led to accusations of cultural imperialism against missionaries. This thesis has not sought to resolve this debate but rather acknowledge the presence of missionaries within it. In Hong Kong, missionaries were supported by structures of formal colonialism that encouraged their proselytization, however, in China missionaries were without this support. This meant that their encounters with Chinese people had to involve more compromise and a level of mutuality. This led to the rise of Chinese biblewomen, usually older women who were trained to evangelise other Chinese women. Unlike other forms of evangelism, the use of biblewomen was one instance in which missionaries acknowledged the agency of Chinese women to effect change. It can also be argued that the imperial environment of the missionary movement influenced societies like the China Inland Mission to adopt Chinese dress in an effort to create the idea that missionaries and the Chinese population were not that different.

Despite the fact that the informal imperial structures of the British presence in China forced missionaries to appear to concede some power, it should not be assumed that power structures were equal. The lack of formal colonialism meant that missionaries needed to work harder to justify and legitimise their intervention into Chinese culture. Missionaries sought to achieve this through their prolific authorship and literature. In this literature, missionaries

framed a number of cultural practices in China as evidence of inherent immorality that could be changed by the adoption of Christianity. They relied on emphasising aspects of horror in these cultural customs and practices, such as marriage, footbinding, female infanticide, and opium use, so that they could construct an urgent message that confirmed the victimhood of Chinese women. This victimhood portrayed Chinese women as helpless victims of Chinese patriarchy, while largely ignoring the cultural context of the customs and any agency that Chinese women may have possessed. It relied on the assumption that missionaries possessed a moral superiority that they could impart to the Chinese people. Some Chinese women did engage with this presumed moral superiority of missionaries and their personal stories reflect how they sought to improve their lives through their association with missionaries as in the case of Mrs Ahok.

Once missionaries had established the legitimacy of their presence in China they developed the Protestant rescue project. Key to this project in China was the proliferation of Christian education. Missionaries started schools, many of which were aimed at young Chinese girls who were deemed to be of the rescue class, that is girls from poor backgrounds who might otherwise have few opportunities. One of these homes in Hong Kong was the Victoria Home and Orphanage operated by Church Missionary Society missionaries. The home was established in 1888 by Rev. and Mrs Ost. They intended the home to be an example of Christian domesticity for the young girls that they rescued. For almost its entire existence, the home was run exclusively by single women missionaries and reveals a network of female leadership within patriarchal leadership of the missionary movement in Hong Kong. As well as Christian domesticity, the home also promoted the idea of love and community to create bonds between the missionaries and the rescued girls. The home, through its segregation of rescued and Christian students, reveals the racialised lens through which missionaries were encouraged to view the Chinese women and girls they were working with.

Another key component to the Protestant rescue project in China was the proliferation of medical missions. Medical missions first arrived in China prior to the first Opium Wars, however, following the signing of the unequal treaties that were able to spread throughout China. Medical missions recruited professional females to their cause including trained nurses and doctors. This resulted in medical missions being a curious mix of evangelical workers and lay professionals, a mix that sometimes led missionaries to have conflicting priorities. The spread of medical missions brought women missionaries into contact with more Chinese women and girls and they used this contact to further their proselytization. This also gave Chinese women new opportunities to exercise greater autonomy. Women medical missionaries were the first to train Chinese women as doctors and nurses; and established a number of colleges to provide the necessary training. Medical missions were one of the few examples where missionary claims to be modernizing China were more than just propaganda for the missionary cause. The introduction of western medicine by medical missionaries, did improve health outcomes for the Chinese population, particularly for Chinese women.

Through both their education and medical projects missionaries came into contact with *mui tsai*, female bonded domestic servants who were framed by western advocates as victims of slavery. The work missionaries did with these young girls was used by advocates in the *mui tsai* controversy of the 1920s. While this controversy was, perhaps, one of the most divisive colonial disputes during its time, the position of missionaries within the debate can be hard to locate. However, missionaries were commenting on the position of the *mui tsai*, yet, due to the reliance of advocates on the resources and work of missionaries these commentaries are not generally located in missionary archives. The vast majority of advocates that were protesting the employment of *mui tsai* were female, however, the majority of missionary commentary on *mui tsai* is dominated by male voices. This is reflective of the fact, that despite the apparent emerging female leadership within the missionary movement, the movement was still

overwhelmingly led by men. This domination is one that seems to be replicated in missionary archives.

The Protestant rescue project in China reveals much about the relationship that missionaries had with Chinese women. As chapter four established there was an asymmetrical power structure that underpinned their relationship. Yet, as missionary testimony revealed, missionaries worked hard to attempt to conceal this asymmetry and show their relationships, with converted women, as equal due to their shared Christianity. Chinese women were not as helpless as missionaries portrayed. In fact, in many instances the missionary evangelical endeavours would have been impossible without the aid of Chinese women, the Chinese biblewomen being the most obvious example of this. Chinese women also assisted missionaries with their study of the Chinese language and, as in the case of Mrs Ahok, were often intermediaries between missionaries and other Chinese women.

Missionaries often insisted that they loved the Chinese women and girls with whom they were working and urged their supporters to extend the same love to these women and girls. This reliance on a rhetoric of love reveals the deeply personal nature of female mission. For women missionaries the decision to become a missionary was often compared to the calling felt by women who joined convents. Their faith in God and Christianity underpinned this decision. Missionary women's recollections of individual encounters with Chinese women is indicative of a close bond between the missionaries and the Chinese women, though whether or not this bond was understood or reciprocated by the Chinese women is impossible to know. The missionary insistence of love also pushes back against the impersonal definition of missionaries as cultural imperialists. Nevertheless, in their actions and attitudes, missionaries were complicit in upholding imperial and colonial structures.

This thesis has also uncovered an apparent emerging female leadership within the missionary movement, though this was still overshadowed by the dominating male patriarchy of the missionary movement. The professionalisation of the missionary movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century did provide single women more opportunities beyond the respectable options of marriage or spinsterhood. This challenge to the primacy of marriage for women raises questions about missionary work as a form of feminism. The discussion in chapter two addressed the difficulty in labelling missionaries as feminists. In particular what makes it difficult to assess the feminism of missionaries is the overarching themes of imperialism and their complicity in maintaining a conservative reading of colonialism. Much of the work carried out by missionaries in education and medical assistance, is work that is considered to be at the core of contemporary feminism. Yet, there is a reluctance to include religious women such as these missionaries in histories and historiographies of feminism. Future research into religious women who work helping other women outside the influence of empire may help to resolve this reluctance. Certainly, the feminism of these religiously motivated women is unfinished business for scholars of the histories of religion, missions, and feminism.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Early Missionary Arrivals in China

Place		**Missionaries**	
City	*Province*	*Denomination*	*First Arrived*
Hankow (Hankou)	Hupeh	-London Missionary Society	-1861
		-Wesleyan Missionary Society	-1862
		-American Episcopal Church Mission	-1868
		-China Inland Mission	-1874
		-Swedish (Congregational) Missionary Society	-1890
		-American Norwegian Lutheran Missionary Society	-1891
		-American Baptist Union	-1893
		-Christian and Missionary Alliance	-1895
		-Church of Scotland Mission	-1878
		-Swedish American Mission Covenant	-1890
		-Norwegian Lutheran Mission	-1891
		-Hauges Synodes Mission	-1891
Source: Rev. Arnold Foster, 'The Province of Hupeh' in Marshall Broomhall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*, London, UK, Morgan & Scott, 1907, pp.114-125.			
Foochow (Fuzhou)	Fukien	-Missionaries (no specific society given)	-1842
		-Conversion success (credited to Church Missionary Society)	-1850
Source: Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, 'The Province of Fukien' in Marshall Broomhall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*, London, UK, Morgan & Scott, 1907, pp.54-62.			
Shanghai	Kiangsu*	-Gutzlaff (independent missionary)	-1832
		-London Missionary Society	-1835 (visit), 1843
		-LMS Hospital	-1843
		-Church Missionary Society	-1844
		-American Episcopal Church	-1845

		-American Southern Baptist Mission -Seventh Day Baptist Mission (South) -American Presbyterian (North) -China Inland Mission	-1848 -1848 -1850 -1873
Source: Rev. John Darroch, 'The Province of Kiangsu' in Marshall Broomhall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*, London, UK, Morgan & Scott, 1907, pp.80-92.			
Canton (Guangzhou)	Kwangtung	-Jesuits -Protestants (Macao)	-1552 -1807
Source: Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, 'The Province of Kwantung' in Marshall Broomhall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*, London, UK, Morgan & Scott, 1907, pp.43-53.			
Hangchow (Hangzhou)	Chekiang	-Robert Milne -American Baptist Missionary Union -American Presbyterian (North) -Church Missionary Society -China Inland Mission -English Methodist Mission -American Presbyterian (South) -Christians' Mission	-sometime before 1842 -1844 -1844 -1848 -1857 -1864 -1867 -1895
Source: Venerable Archdeacon A.E. Moule, 'The Province of Chekiang' in Marshall Broomhall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*, London, UK, Morgan & Scott, 1907, pp.73-79.			

*Shanghai is now directly governed by Central government in Beijing but is listed by missionaries to be part of the province of Kiangsu.

Appendix 2.1: Victoria Home Individual Donations, 1888-1903

Table 1: Donations received under the management of Rev. Ost, 1888-1890

Year	Amount (HK$)
1888-89	270.53
1889-90	1628.91

Sources: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *First Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1888-1889, p.7; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, Rev. J. B. Ost, *Second Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1889-1890, p.12.

Table 2: Donations received under the management of Miss Hamper, 1892-1903

Year	Amount (HK$)
1892	42.81
1893	546.05
1894	612.17
1897	410.59
1898	384.20
1903	303.06

Sources: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1892, p.6; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1893, p.9; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1894, p.16; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1897, p.11; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1898, p.9; UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1904, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1903, p.6.

Appendix 2.2: Victoria Home Sponsorship Scheme, 1893-94, 1897-98, 1903

Table 1: Sponsorship Scheme for 1893

Student	Sponsor
A Tong	Miss Ashby
Ma Ka	Miss Attlee
Lai wan	Mrs Bickerdyke
Lei Ying	Blandford Y.W.C.A.
Luk Mui	Mrs Burrows
A Kam	"Daisy Band" Bournemouth
A Tsin	Mrs Dobson
A Ying	Mrs Dobson
Tai Yau	Mrs Ede
Lin yau	Finchley Sunday School
Tsau Lan	Miss Hamper
Shau Yan	The Misses Hamper
Tsau Kwai	Kensington Y.W.C.A. Bath
Shun Hei	Miss Longcope
A Pin	Palin Branch Scripture Union
Tsoi Kam	Palin Branch Scripture Union
Ho Ying	Miss Pratt
Lin Ho	Miss Ridley
A Yau	Mrs Ritson
Ho Sui	Mrs Ritson
Ko Mui	Mrs Ritson
A Ngan	Ware "Gleaners"
Fan Kiu	Y. W's Bible Class, Sunderland

Source: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1893, p.6.

Table 2: Sponsorship Scheme for 1894

Student	Sponsor
A Tong	Alton Y.W.C.A.
Ma Ka	Miss Attlee
*	Barnsley Juvenile Missionary Union
Li Ying	Blandford Y.W.C.A.
Luk Mui	Mrs Burrows
A Kam	“Daisy Band” Bournemouth
A Tsin	Mr Dobson
A Ying	Mr Dobson
Tai Yau	Mrs Ede
Lin Yau	Finchley Sunday School
*	Miss Finney
Tsau Lan	Miss Hamper
Shau Yan	The Misses Hamper
Fun Kiu	Hendon Y. W’s Bible Class
A Tsan	Kensington, Y.W.C.A. Bath
A Pin	Palm Branch, Children’s Scripture Union
Tsoi Kam	Palm Branch, Children’s Scripture Union
Lin Ho	Miss Ridley
Hung Lim	St Elizabeth’s Altrincham Bible Student’s Class
Sz Mui	St Elizabeth’s Altrincham Women’s Bible Class
*	St George’s Altrincham Women’s Bible Class
*	Miss Stokes
A Ngan	Ware Gleaners

*Haven’t decided who to sponsor yet

Source: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*,1894, pp.8-9.

Table 3: Sponsorship Scheme for 1897

Student	Sponsor
Ma Ka	Miss Atlee

A Tong	Alton Y.W.C. A
A Tseuk	Barnsley Juvenile M. Union
Li Ying	Blandford Y.W.C.A.
A Kam	Daisy Band Bournemouth
£1	Mrs Burrows
Lin Yau	Finchley Sunday School
Ut Yau	Bow Factory Girls' Class
Shun Hi	Miss Finney
A Ho	Friend per do [Miss Finney]
Shau Yau	The Misses Hamper and Friends
Kum Um	Miss A. K. Hamper
Fun Kin	Hendon Y. W's B. Class
Lai Wan	Miss Jones
A Chan	Kensington, Y.W.C.A. Bath
A Pin	Palm Branch C.S.U.
Hung Lin	St Elizabeth's Altrincham B.S.C.
Sz Mui	St Elizabeth's Altrincham W.B.C.
Ip On	St George's Altrincham W.B.C.
San Ts'oi	Mrs Beachamp

Source: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1897, pp.7-8.

Table 4: Sponsorship Scheme for 1898

Student	**Sponsor**
A Tong	Alton Y.W.C.A.
A Tseuk	Barnsley Juvenile M. Union
Li Ying	Blandford Y.W.C. A

A Kam	“Daisy Band” Bournemouth
Sun Yi	Mrs Burrows
A Pin	Palm Branch S.S. Union
Shan Yun	The Misses Hamper and Friends
A Ho and Lau Fuk	A friend per Miss Finney
Ip On	Altrincham B.S.C.
Sz Mui	Altrincham Women’s B.C.
Hung Lin	Altrincham St George’s W. Class
A Chan	Kensington Y.W.C.A. Bath
A Mui	Mrs Horder
San Ts’oi	Mrs Beachamp
Tsoi Siu	Miss Rodwell
Ut Yau	Bow Factory Girls’ Class
Fun Kiu	Hendon Y. W’s Bible Class
Lai Wan	Miss Jones

Source: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1898, p.5.

Table 4: Sponsorship Scheme for 1903

Student	**Sponsor**
Tsung Hi	Miss Rice Rice
Lin Yan	Mrs Rawstorne
Sz Mui	Altrincham St George’s Sunday School
Ts’u Kam	Altrincham St George’s Sunday School
Sz Mui	Altrincham St Elizabeth’s Bible Class

Tsoi Ying	Altrincham St Elizabeth's Bible Class
Shau Yan	The Misses Hamper and Friends
Ut Yau	Bow Factory Girls' Class
A Chan	Kensington and Bath Y.W.C.A.
Chan Yung	Sunbridge Sunday School
Sai Kam	Daisy Band Y.W.C.A. Bournemouth
Sun Yi	Mrs Burrows, Bournemouth
Yau Ho	Miss Paxton
A Kwai	Col. Candy
Li Mui	The Misses May
Fun Kiu	Sunderland Y.W.C.A.
Li Ho	Miss Lee
Lau Fuk	Miss Lee
Fung Chan	Rev. J.H. and Mrs France
Sui Yi	Mr and Mrs Geard
A Hing	M and E.F.
A Tong	Alton Y.W.C.A.

Source: UB/CRLSC CMS/G1 CH1/O 1904, A. K. Hamper, *Annual Report for the Victoria Home and Orphanage*, 1903, p.7.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Collections

London School of Economics – The Women's Library

Records of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene - 3AMS/D/19-20.

University of Birmingham – Cadbury Research Library

Records of the Church Missionary Society - CMS/C CH/O 12; CMS/G1 CH/L5; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1885; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1886; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1890; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1891; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1899; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1904; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1911; CMS/G1 CH1/O 1915; CMS/G1 AL 1917-1934 Wat-Wd; CMS/OSD Chg Z1 (1936/6); CMS/C CH/O 13/8; CMS/G/A H 1/4.

University of London – SOAS Library

Records of the China Inland Mission - CIM/PP Box 3; CIM127 1883;CIM128 1884; CIM131 1887; CIM139 1892; CIM142 1898; CIM166 1924.

Records of the Council for World Mission (London Missionary Society) - CWM 1941-1950 CH/43

Records of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association - WMA Minutes/Correspondence 1932-1939, Box 6.

University of Oxford – The Bodleian Libraries

Records of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society - MSS Brit. Emp. S.25/K25/5 (Lady Simon's Papers); MSS Brit. Emp. S.22/G509

University of Oxford, Regent's Park College – The Angus Library

Records of the Baptist Missionary Society - 10224, *Letter to Baynes from Farthing.*

Hong Kong Government Reports Online

http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/index.jsp

Reports for Education – Hong Kong

Correspondence relating to the Mui-Tsai Question

Published Books

Bacon, Charlotte. *Where East meets West*. London, UK: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1929.

Barnes, Irene H. *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C.E.Z.M.S work and workers in China*. London, UK: Marshall Brothers, 1896.

Broomhall, Marshall (ed.) *The Chinese Empire: a general and missionary survey*. London, UK: Morgan and Scott, 1907.

Broomhall, Marshall. *Hudson Taylor - The Man Who Dared*. London, UK: Morgan and Scott, nd.

Broomhall, Marshall. *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*. London, UK: Morgan and Scott, 1915.

Burton, Maragaret. *The Education of Women in China*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911.

Dennis, James S. *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*. Edinburgh and London, UK: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902 in Steven S. Maughan. *Might England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014.

des Voeux, George William. *My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, New-Foundland, and Hong Kong with Interludes, Vol. II*. London, UK: John Murray, 1903.

Fielde, Adele. *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*. London: T. Ogilivie Smith, 1887.

Golllock, Georgina. *Missionaries at Work*. London, UK: Church Missionary Society, 1898.

Guinness, Geraldine. *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Two Volumes*. Vol.1 and Vol. 2. London, UK: Morgan and Scott, 1900.

Guinees, Lucy (ed.) *In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness in China*. London: UK, Morgan and Scott, 1889.

Haslewood, Clara and Haslewood, Lt. Col. Hugh. *Child Slavery in Hong Kong: The mui tsai system*. London, UK: Sheldon Press, 1930.

Hudson Taylor, James. *China's Spriritual Needs and Claims*. 6th edn. London, UK: Morgan and Scott, 1884.

Jeter, B. *Memoir of Mrs Henrietta Shuck, the first American female missionary to China*. Boston, MA: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1849.

Lacy, Walter. *A Hundred Years of China Methodism.* Nashville, TN: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1925.

Latourette, Kenneth S. *A History of Christian Missions in China*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Lipphard, William B. *The Ministry of Healing: A Study of Medical Missionary Endeavour on Baptist Foreign Mission Fields*. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1920.

Lockhart, William. *The Medical Missionary in China: a narrative of twenty years' experience*. London, UK: Hurst and Blackett, 1861.

Macgowan, John. *How England Saved China*. London, UK: T. F. Unwin, 1913.

Mateer, Robert. *Character-building in China: the life story of Julia Brown Mateer*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911.

McGillivray, Donald. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907.

Osgood, Elliott Irving. *Breaking Down Chinese Walls: From a Doctor's Point of View*. New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908.

Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East. *History of the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East*. London, UK: Edward Suter, 1847.

Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society*. Vol. lv. London, UK: Church Missionary Society, 1916.

Taylor, Howard and Taylor, James Hudson. *The Story of the China Inland Mission.* London, UK: Morgan and Scott, 1893.

The China Educational Commission. *Christian Education in China: The Report of the China Educational Commission of 1921-1922*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922.

Tippet, Charlotte. *The Clock Man's Mother and Other Stories*. London, UK: The Religious Tract Society, 1930.

Tippet Charlotte. *The Tin Traveller*. London, UK: China Inland Mission, 1931.

Wayland, Francis. *The Elements of Moral Science*. Boston, US: Gould and Lincoln, 1935.

Revised Rules and Regulations for Foreign Missions, Church Missionary Society, Church of England, Canada, 1916.

Who's who in the Far East, 1906-7. Hong Kong: China Mail, 1906.

'Dr Ruth Massey – Obituary', *The Times*, January 23, 1963, p.15.

'The Medical Education of Women', *Edinburgh Evening Standard*, March 20, 1896, p.4.

Online Databases

Civil Registration Death Index, 1916-2007 (England and Wales)

Ancestry.com.au (UK Incoming Passenger Lists 1878-1960)

Newspapers

Hong Kong Public Libraries – Old Hong Kong Newspapers

The China Mail

Hong Kong Telegraph

Hong Kong Daily Press

South China Morning Post

Missionary Journals

China's Millions

Church Missionary Gleaner

Female Missionary Intelligencer

Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal – 1885, 1878

Chinese Repository 1834

Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission – 1866-1875

The Rising Tide – 1933

Secondary Sources

Journal Articles

Adas, Michael. 'Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective'. *The International History Review*. Vol. 20. No. 2. 1998, pp.371-388.

Allen, Margaret. '"That's the Modern Girl" Missionary Women and Modernity in Kolkata, c.1907-c.1940'. *Itinerario*. Vol. 34. No. 3. 2010, pp.83-96.

Ballantyne, Tony. ‘Religion, Difference, and the Limits of British Imperial History’. *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 47. No. 3. 2005, pp.427-455.

Berney, Jane. ‘Writing Women’s Histories: women in the colonial record of nineteenth century Hong Kong’. *Women’s History Review*. Vol. 22. No. 2. 2013, pp.211-224.

Brown, John. ‘The Opium Wars’. *Military History*. Vol. 21. No. 1. 2004, pp.34-42.

Brown, Melissa J, and Satterthwaite-Phillips, Damien. ‘Economic correlates of footbinding. Implications for the importance of Chinese daughter’s labor’. *PloS ONE*. Vol. 13. No. 9. Sept. 2018, e0201337. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0201337.

Carroll, John M. ‘A National Custom: Debating Female Servitude in Late Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong’. *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol. 43. No. 6. 2009, pp.1463-1493.

Chin, Angelina. ‘Colonial Charity in Hong Kong: a Case of the Po Leung Kuk in the 1930s’. *Journal of Women’s History*. Vol. 25. No. 1. 2013, pp.135-157.

Chin, Carol C. ‘Beneficit Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’ *Diplomatic History*. Vol. 27. No. 3. 2003, pp.327-352.

Chiu, Patricia Pok-kwan. ‘‘A position of usefulness’: gendering history of girls’ education in colonial Hong Kong (1850s-1890s)’. *History of Education*. Vol. 37. No. 6. 2008, pp.789-805.

Davin, Delia. ‘British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China’. *Women’s History Review*. Vol. 1. No. 2. 1992, pp.257-271.

Dunch, Ryan. ‘Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity’. *History and Theory*. Vol. 41. No. 3. 2002, pp.301-325.

Fieldhouse, David. ‘Can Humpty-Dumpty be put together again? Imperial History in the 1980s’. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. 12. No. 2, 1984, pp.9-23.

Gent, Jacqueline van and Young, Spencer E. ‘Introduction: Emotions and Conversion’. *Journal of Religious History*. Vol. 39. No. 4. 2015, pp.461-467.

Gorman, Daniel. ‘Empire, Internationalism, and the Campaign against the Traffic in Women and Children in the 1920s’. *Twentieth Century British History*. Vol. 19. No. 2. 2008, pp.186-216.

Griffiths, Valerie. ‘Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea. *Women’s History Review*. Vol. 17. No. 4, 2008, pp.521-541.

Harris, Paul W. ‘Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China’. *Pacific Historical Review*. Vol. 60. No. 3. 1991, pp. 309-338.

Heaver, Stuart. ‘The Helena May turns 100: how an exclusive women’s club earned its place in Hong Kong’s history’, *Post Magazine*. 20 February 2016. http://www.scmp.com/magazines/post_magazine/article/1913888/helena-may-turns-100-exclusive-womens-club-earned-its. Accessed 19 April 2017.

Hopkins, A. G. ‘Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History’. *Past & Present*. No. 164. 1999, pp.198-243.

Hoyt, Frederick. ‘ ‘When a field was found too difficult for a man, a woman should be sent’: Adele M. Fielde in Asia, 1865-1890’. *The Historian*. Vol. 44. No. 3, 1982, pp.314-334.

Kent, Eliza. ‘Tamil Biblewomen and the Zenana Missions of Colonial South India’. *History of Religions*. Vol. 39. No. 2. Christianity in India. 1999, pp.117-149.

King, Marjorie. ‘American Women’s Open Door to Chinese Women: Which Way Does it Open?’. *Women’s Studies International Forum*. Vol. 13. No. 4. 1990, pp.369-379.

Lee, James; Feng, Wang and Campbell, Cameron. ‘Infant and Child Mortality Among Qing Nobility: Implications for Two Types of Positive Checks’. *Population Studies*. Vol. 48. No. 3. Nov. 1994, pp.369-411.

Lee, Janet. ‘Between Subdination and She Tiger: Social Constructions of White Feminism in the Lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930’. *Women’s Studies International Forum*. Vol. 19. No. 6. 1996, pp.621-632.

Leow, Rachel. ‘Age as a Category of Gender Analysis: Servant Girls, Modern Girls, and Gender in Southeast Asia’. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 71. No. 4. 2012, pp.975-990.

Leow, Rachel. ‘‘Do you own non-Chinese mui tsai?’ Re-examining Race and Female Servitude in Malaya and Hong Kong. 1919-1939’. *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol. 46. No. 6. 2012, pp.1736-1763.

Leppänen, Katarina. ‘Movement of Women: Trafficking in the interwar era’. *Women’s Studies International Forum*. Vol. 30. 2007, pp.523-533.

Liu, Xiaoyi. ‘The Rise of Women’s Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911)’. *Education Journal*. Vol. 37. Nos. 1-2. 2009, pp.89-117.

Manktelow, Emily J. ‘The Rise and Demise of Missionary Wives’. *Journal of Women’s History*. Vol. 26. No.1 2014, pp.135-159.

Marchant, Leslie. ‘The Wars of the Poppies’. *History Today*. Vol. 52. No. 5. 2002, pp.42-9.

Maynes, Mary Jo and Walter, Ann. ‘Childhood, Youth, and the Female Life Cycle: Women’s Life Transistions in a World Historical Perspective: Comparing Marriages in China and Europe’. *Journal of Women’s History*. Vol. 12. No. 4. 2001, pp.13-21.

McCaslin, Sara. ‘Emily Blatchley & the Lammermuir Party’. *Forgotten Sheep*. November 4 2016. http://www.forgottensheep.net/blog/emily-blatchely-the-lammermuir-party#comments. Accessed March 22 2019.

Moore, Wendy. ‘Love and Marriage in 18th Century Britain’. *Historically Speaking*. Vol. 10. No. 3. 2009, pp.8-10.

Ngo, Tak-Wing. ‘Colonialism in Hong Kong Revisited’ in Tak-Wing Ngo (ed.), *Hong Kong’s History: State and Society under Colonial Rule*. London, UK: Routledge, 1999, pp.1-12.

Paddle, Sarah. ‘The Limits of Sympathy: International Feminists and the Chinese ‘Slave Girl’ Campaigns of the 1920s and 1930s’. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*. Vol. 4. No. 3. 2003.

Paddle, Sarah. '"To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China'. *Itinerario*. Vol. 34. 2010, pp.67-82.

Pedersen, Susan. 'The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over 'Child Slavery' in Hong Kong 1917-1941'. *Past & Present*. No. 171. 2001, pp.161-202.

Perdue, Peter C. 'Comparing Empires: Manchu Colonialism'. *The International History Review*. Vol. 20. No. 2. 1998, pp.255-262.

Phillips, Richard. 'Imperialism and the regulation of sexuality: colonial legislation on contagious diseases and ages of consent'. *Journal of Historical Geography*. Vol. 28. No. 3. 2002, pp.339-362.

Pomfret, David M. ''Child Slavery' in British and French Far-Eastern Colonies 1880-1945'. *Past and Present,* No. 201. 2008, pp.175-213.

Porter, Andrew. ''Cultural Imperialism' and protestant missionary enterprise, 1780-1914'. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. 25. No. 3. 1997, pp.367-391.

Raftery, Deirdre. 'Religions and the history of education: a historiography'. *History of Education*. Vol. 41. No. 1. 2012, pp.41-56.

Ravin, James G. 'Thomas Colledge: A Pioneering British Eye Surgeon in China'. *Archives of Ophthalmology*. Vol. 119. No. 10. 2001, pp.1530-1532.

Rosenwein, Barabar. 'Worrying about Emotions in History'. *American Historical Review*. June. 2002, pp.821-845.

Ruskola, Teemu. 'Law, Sexual Morality, and Gender Equality in Qing and Communist China'. *The Yale Law Journal*. Vol. 103. No. 8, Symposium: The Informal Economy. 1994, pp.2531-2565.

Samuels, Harriet. 'A Human Rights Campaign? The Campaign to Abolish Child Slavery in Hong Kong 1919-1938'. *Journal of Human Rights*. Vol. 6. No. 3. 2007, pp.361-384.

Scott, David. 'Kipling, the Orient, and Orientals: "Orientalism" Reoriented?'. *Journal of World History,* Vol. 22, no. 3, 2011, pp. 299-328.

Shemo, Connie. 'Directions in Scholarship on American Women and Protestant Foreign Mission: Debates over "Cultural Imperialism"'. *History Compass*. Vol. 10. No. 3. 2012, pp.270-283.

Shemo, Connie. ' "How better could she serve her country?": Cultural Translators, US Women's History, and Kang Cheng's "An Amazon in Cathay"'. *Journal of Women's History*. Vol. 21. No. 4. 2009, pp.111-133.

Shemo, Connie. 'Imperialism, Race, and Rescue: Transformations in the Women's Foreign Mission Movement after World War I'. *Diplomatic History*. Vol. 00. No. 0. 2019, pp.1-17.

Smith, Carl T. 'The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920s'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*. Vol. 21. 1981, pp.91-113.

Stanley, Brian. ‘From “the poor heathen” to “glory and honour of all nations”: Vocubularies of Race and Custom in Protestant Missions, 1844-1928’. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*. Vol. 34. No. 1. 2010, pp.3-10.

Swaine, Shurlee. ‘Sweet Childhood Lost: Idealized Images of Childhood in the British Child Rescue Literature’. *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*. Vol. 2. No. 2. 2009, pp.198-214.

Thompson, T. Jack. ‘Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century’. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*. Vol. 26. No. 4. 2002, pp.146-149.

Tian, Xiaoli. ‘Rumour and Secret Space: Organ-Snatching Tales and Medical Missions in Nineteenth-Century China’. *Modern China*. Vol. 41. No. 2. 2015, pp.197-236.

To, Alex Kammoon. ‘Challenges of Meeting the Other: Baptists Meeting the Education Needs of Hong Kong between 1842-1970’. *Journal of Baptist Studies*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 2016, pp.5-18.

Tucker, Sara W. ‘Opportunities for Women: The Development of Professional Women’s Medicine at Canton, China, 1879-1901’. *Women’s Studies International Forum*. Vol. 13. No, 4. 1990, pp.357-368.

Twells, Alison. ‘Review of The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole’. *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 54. No. 2. 2012, pp.344-345.

Vallgarda, Karen. ‘Tying Children to God with Love: Danish Mission, Childhood, and Emotions in Colonial South India’. *Journal of Religious History*. Vol. 39. No. 4. 2015, pp.595-613.

Welch, Ian. ‘British and Australian Anglican Women in 19th Century China’. Working Paper. *ANU Research Publications*. Australian National University, 2015.

White, Chris. ‘“To rescue the wretched ones”: Saving Chinese Slave Girls in Republican Xiamen’. *Twentieth Century-China*. Vol. 39. No. 1. 2014, pp.44-68.

Wilmott, C. ‘The paradox of gender among China missionary collectors, 1850-1950’. *Social Sciences and Missions*. Vol. 25, 2012, pp.129-165.

Xu, Guangqiu. ‘Medical Missionaries in Guangzhou: The iniators of the modern women’s rights movement in China’. *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* Vol. 22. No. 4. 2016, pp.443-461.

Young, Theron Kue-Hing. ‘*The William Osler Medal Essay*: A Conflict of Professions: The Medical Missionary in China, 1835-1890’. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Vol. 47. No. 3. 1973, pp.250-272.

Yuen, Karen. ‘Theorizing the Chinese: The *Mui Tsai* Controversy and Constructions of Transnational Chineseness in Hong Kong and British Malaya’. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 2004, pp.95-110.

Monographs

Austin, Alvyn. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*. Michigan, US: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007.

Broomhall, Alfred. *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century: Survivor's Pact*. London, UK: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984.

Beaver, Pierce R. *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*. (rev. ed.) Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980.

Bickers, Robert. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2012.

Bossen, Laurel and Gates, *Hill. Bound Feet, Young Hands: Tracking the Demise of Footbinding in Village China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017.

Burton, Antoinette. *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Carey, Hilary, M. *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Carroll, John. *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895-1937*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Carroll, John M. *A Concise History of Hong Kong*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2007.

Chen, Song-Chuan. *Merchants of War and Peace: British Knowledge of China in the Making of the Opium War*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017.

Ch'en, Jerome. *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937*. London, UK: Hutchinson & Co. 1979.

Chin, Angelina. *Bound to Emancipate: Working Women and Urban Citizenship in Early Twentieth-Century China and Hong Kong*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2012.

Cleall, Esme. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Clifford, Nicholas R. *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991.

Cui, Dan. *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development During the 1920s*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998.

Curtain, Katie. *Women in China.* New York, NY: Pathfinder Press, 1975.

Dehqani, Gulnar Eleanor Farncis. *Religious Feminism in an Age of Empire: CMS Missionaries in Iran, 1869-1934*. Bristol, UK: Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender, Research Monograph 4, 2000.

Deng, Peng. *Private Education in Modern China*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997.

Edwards, Penny. *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation*, 1860-1945. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.

Esherick, Joseph W. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988.

Evans, Dorothy Lord Bausum. He Led All the Way. Maitland, FL: Xulon Press, 2007.

Fontana, Michela. *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2015.

Giffiths, Valerie. *Not Less Than Anything: The courageous women who carried the Christian gospel to China*. Oxford, UK: Monarch Books with Oveseas Missionary Fellowship, 2004.

Grant, Kevin. *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis, 2004.

Grasso, June; Corrin, Jay and Kort, Michael. *Moderization and Revolutions in China: From the Opium Wars to World Power*. 3rd edn. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2004.

Grimshaw, Patricia. *Paths of Duty: American Missionary in Nineteenth Century Hawaii*. Hawaii, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.

Gullestad, Marianne. *Picturing Pity: Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-Cultural Communication. Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission.* New York, NY: Bergahn Books, 2007.

Haggis, Jane; Midgely, Claire; Allen, Margaret and Paisley, Fiona. *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire: Interfaith, Cross Cultural, and Transnational Networks, 1860-1950*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Heeney, Brian. *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Henriot, Christian. *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Hershatter, Gail. *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007.

Ho, Virgil Kit-yui. *Understanding Canton: rethinking popular culture in the Republican era*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hillemann, Ulrike. *Asian Empire and British Knowledge: China and the Networks of British Imperial Expansion*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Hirono, Miwa. *Civilizing Missions: International Religious Agencies in China*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Hoe, Susanna. *Chinese Footprints: Exploring Women's History in China, Hong Kong and Macau*. Hong Kong, HK: Roundhouse Publications (Asia) Ltd, 1996.

Hoe, Susanna. *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony 1841-1941*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Hunt, Tristam. *Ten Cities that Made an Empire*. London, UK: Penguin group, 2014.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.

Ikebuchi, Shelley. *From Slave Girls to Salvation: Gender, Race and Victoria's Chinese Rescue Home*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015.

Jacobs, Margaret. *White Mother to a Dark Race {Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940}*. Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

Jaschok, Maria. *Concubines and Bondservants: A Social History of Chinese Custom*. Hong Kong, HK: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Johnstone, Anna. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Judge, Joan. *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Kaiser, Andrew T. *The Rushing on of the Purposes of God: Christian Missions in Shanxi since 1876*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2016.

King, Michelle T. *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth Century China*. Stanford: Stanford Univeristy Press, 201.

Knill, James L. *Mary and Annie Bell: Unsung Pioneers of the China Inland Mission*. James L. Knill, 2017.

Ko, Dorothy. *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.

Lee, James and Campbell, Cameron. *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social Organization and Population Behaviour Liaoning, 1774-1873*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Lee, James Z. and Feng, Wang. *One Quarter of Humanity: Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities, 1700-2000*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Li, Ji. *God's Little Daughters: Catholic Women in Nineteenth Century Manchuria*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Lim, Janet. *Sold for Silver: An Autobiography of a Girl Sold into Slavery in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Monsoon Books, 2004.

Lim, Patricia. *Forgotten Souls: A Social History of the Hong Kong Cemetery*. Hong Kong, HK: Hong Kong University Press, 2011.

Lovell, Julia. *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China*. Sydney, Aus.: Picador, 2011.

Lowrie, Claire. *Masters and Servants: Cultures of Empire in the Tropics*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Lutz, Jessie Gregory. *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western relations, 1827-1852*. Michigan, US: William B. Eerdsman Publishing, 2008.

May, Andrew J. *Welsh missionaries and British imperialism: The Empire of Clouds in north-east India*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012.

Manktelow, Emily J. *Missionary Families: Race, Gender, and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Maughan, Steven S. *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1995.

Midgley, Claire. *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.

Miers, Suzanne. *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem*. Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Mungello, D.E. *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800* (4th edn). Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013.

Nield, Robert. *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1943*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015.

Porter, Andrew. *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Prevost, Elizabeth. *The Commuion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Ride, Lindsay. *An East India Company Cemetary: Protestant Burials in Macao*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996.

Roberts, J.M. *The New Penguin History of the World*. 5th edn. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2002.

Ross, Cathy. *Women with a Mission: Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand*. Mairangi Bay, NZ. Penguin Books, 2006.

Rowe, William T. *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979.

Semple, Rhonda Ann. *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*. Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003.

Shemo, Connie A. *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross Cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation.* Cranbury, NJ: Lehigh University Press, 2011.

Smith, Peter Wesley. *Unequal Treaty 1898-1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong's New Territories*. (rev ed.) Hong Kong, HK: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Stanley, Brian. *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Mission and British Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Leceister, UK: Apollos, 1990.

Stanley, Brian. *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*. Edinburgh,Scotland: T&T Clark, 1992.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Stone, Julia. *Chinese Basket Babies: A German Missionary Foudling Home and the Girls It Raised (1850s-1914)*. Weisbaden, Germany: Otto Harrassowitz, 2013.

Swaine, Shurlee and Hillel, Margot. *Child, nation, race and empire: Child rescue discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Tucker, Ruth. *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*. 2nd edn. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Books, 2004.

Tyrell, Ian. *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*, Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 199.

Van Dyke, Paul. A. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*. Hong Kong, HK: Hong Kong University Press, 2007.

Wang, Fung Yee and Moira, Chan-Yeung Mo Wah. *To Serve and To Lead: A History of the Diocesan Boys' School, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.

Warren, Leonard. *Adele Marion Fielde: Feminist, Social Activist, Scientist (Women in Science)*. London, UK: Routledge, 2002.

Wolfendale, Stuart. *Imperial to International: A History of St John's Cathedral, Hong Kong*. Hong Kon:, University of Hong Kong Press, 2013.

Wong, J. Y. *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War (1856-1860) in China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Xu, Guangqiu. *American Doctors in Canton: Modernization in China, 1835-1935*. London, UK: N.J. Somerset, 2011.

Yao, Kevin Xiyi. *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003.

Yun, Lisa. *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indenture Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba*. Phildephia: Temple University Press, 2008.

Zaccarini, Maria. *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge: Dr Allie Gale in China, 1908-1950*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001.

The Great Qing Law Code. Trans. William C. Jones. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Book Chapters

Acke, Hanna. 'The Evocation of Emotions in a Swedish Missionary Periodical' in Claire Mclisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives.* Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.202-217.

Arnold, David and Bickers, Robert. 'Introduction' in Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*. Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1996, pp.1-10.

Bates, M. Searle. 'The Theology of American Missionaries in China 1900-1950' in John K. Fairbank (ed.) *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp.135-158.

Barlow, Tani E. 'Buying In: Advertising and the Sexy Modern Girl Icon in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s' in Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow (eds) *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008, pp.288-316.

Binfield, Clyde. 'Industry, professionalism and mission: The placing of an emancipated laywoman, Dr Ruth Massey 1873-1963' in Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.) *The Rise of Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp.187-201.

Chiu, Patricia P. K. 'Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865-1900s)' in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015, pp.47-64.

Cook, Richard R. 'Overcoming Missions Guilt: Robert Morrison, Ling Fa and the Opium Wars' in Richard R. Cook and David W. Pao (eds) *After Imperialism: Christianity in China and the Global Evangelical Movement*. Oxford, UK: The Lutterworth Press, 2012, pp.35-45.

Cunich, Peter. 'Women Missionaries and Sino-British Relations, 1900-1949' in in Priscilla Roberts and He Pequin (eds). *Bonds across Borders: Women, China, and International Relations in the Modern World*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, pp.201-216.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. 'Introduction' in Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey (eds) *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*. Berkeley, CA: Univesity of Berkeley Press, 1991, pp.1-25.

Ebrey, Patricia. 'Women, marriage and family in Chinese history' in Paul S. Ropp, (ed.) *Heritage of China: contemporary perspectives on Chinese civilization*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990, pp.197-223.

Etherington, Norman. 'Introduction' in Norman Etherington (ed.) *Missions and Empire*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp.1-18.

Etherington, Norman. ‘Missions and Empire’ in Robin Winks (ed.) *Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume V: Historiography*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.304-314.

Eyre, Anghrad. ‘Converting Emotions: Domesticity and Self-Sacrifice in Female Missionary Writing’ in Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives.* Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.179-201.

Fairbank, John K. ‘Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the United States’ in John K. Fairbank (ed.) *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp.1-19.

Garcia, Magaly Rodriguez. ‘Child Slavery, Sex Trafficking or Domestic Work? The League of Nations and its Analysis of the *Mui Tsai* System’ in Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk and Silke Neunsinger (eds) *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2015, pp.428-450.

Grimshaw, Patricia. ‘Faith, Missionary Life, and the Family’ in Philippa Levine (ed.) *Gender and Empire*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.260-80.

Grimshaw, Patricia. ‘Missions and the Politics of Gender’ in Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw (eds) *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*. Melbourne, VIC: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008, http://msp.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions>

Gronewold, Sue. ‘New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women: Competing Models at the Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai’ in Barabara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds) *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, pp195-217.

Gronewold, Sue. ‘A New Family: Domesticity and Sentiment among Chinese and Western women at Shanghai’s Door of Hope’ in Hyaewol Choi and Margaret Jolly (eds) *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*. Canberra, AUS: Australian National University Press, 2014, pp.281-298.

Hubinette, Tobias. ‘From Orphan Trains to Babylifts: Colonial Trafficking, Empire Building, and Social Engineering’ in Jane Jeong Trenka, Julia Chinyere Oparah and Sun Yung Shin (eds) *Outsiders Within: Writing on Transracial Adoption*. Boston, MA: South End Books, 2006, pp.139-149.

Hunter, Jane. ‘Women’s Mission in Historical Perspective: American Identity and Christian Internationalism’ in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Missions and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, pp.19-42.

Jaschok, Maria. ‘Chinese ‘Slave Girls’ in Yunnan-fu: Saving (Chinese) Womanhood and (Western) Souls, 1930-1991’ in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*. London, UK: Zed Books, 1994, pp.171-197.

Jaschok, Maria and Miers, Suzanne. ‘Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System: Submission, Servitude, Escape and Collusion’ in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*. London, UK: Zed Books, 1994, pp.1-24.

Lazich, Michael C. ‘Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind: The Birth of the Medical Missionary Society in Nineteenth Century China’ in David Hardinman (ed.) *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa*. Amsterdam, NL: Rodopi, 2006, pp.59-86.

Lovegrove, Deryck. ‘Introduction’ in Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.) *The Rise of Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*. London, UK: Routledge, 2002, pp.1-14.

Mason, Sarah Refo. ‘Social Christianity, American Feminism and Chinese Prostitutes: The History of the Presbyterian Mission Home, San Francisco, 1874-1935’ in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escap*e. London, UK: Zed Books, 1994, pp.198-237.

Mclisky, Claire and Vallgarda, Karen. ‘Faith Through Feeling: An Introduction’ in Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgarda (eds) *Emotions and Christian Mission: Historical Perspectives*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp.1-21.

Modern Girl around the World Research Group (Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow), ‘The Modern Girl as a Heuristic Device: Collaborations, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation’ in Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow (eds) *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2008, pp.1-24.

Midgely, Claire; Twells, Alison and Carlier, Julie. ‘Introduction’ in Claire Midgley, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier (eds) *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global*. New York: Routledge, 2016, pp.1-10.

Miers, Suzanne. ‘Mui Tsai Through the Eyes of the Victim: Janet Lim’s Story of Bondage and Escape’ in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*. London, UK: Zed Books, 1994, pp.108-121.

Murray, Jocelyn. ‘Aldersey, Mary Ann (1797-1868)’ in Gerald Anderson (ed.) *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999, p.9.

Pfister, Lauren F. 'Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard' in Andrew N. Porter (ed.) *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*. Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003, pp.183-212.

Promfet, David M. ‘Clara Haslewood and the Children of Empire: Colonial Policy, International Relations, and “Child Slavery” in Hong Kong’ in Priscilla Roberts and He Pequin (eds). *Bonds across Borders: Women, China, and International Relations in the Modern World*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, pp.193-200.

Renda, Mary A. ‘Religion, Race, and Empire in the U.S. Protestant Women’s Missionary Enterprise, 1812-1960’ in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Missions and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, pp.367-389.

Schottenhammer, Angela. ‘Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China (Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)’ in Gwyn Campbell (ed.) *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean, Africa and Asia*. London, UK: Frank Cass Publishers, 2004, pp.142-152.

Shemo, Connie. '"So Thoroughly American" Gertude Howe, Kang Chengm and Cultural Imperialism in the Women's Foreign Missionary Movement, 1872-1931' in Barabara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, pp.117-140.

Sinn, Elizabeth. 'The Protection of Women in 19th Century Hong Kong' in Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (eds) *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escap*e. London, UK: Zed Books, 1994, pp.141-170.

Stanley, Brian. 'Some problems in writing a missionary society history today: The example of the Baptist Missionary Society' in Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*. Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1996, pp.38-49.

Stone, Julia. '"Rescuing" And Raising Basket Babies: Chinese Foundling Girls, Female Infanticide, and German Missionary Gender Role Contestations (1850s-1914)' in J. Cho and D. McGetchin (eds) *Gendered Encounters between Germany and Asia*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp.65-84.

Swaine, Shurlee. 'Centre and Periphery in British Child Rescue Discourse' in Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy (eds) Rethinking Colonial Histories: New and Alternative Approaches. Melbourne, AU: , 2006, pp.157-165.

Turnball, C.M. 'Formal and Informal Empire in East Asia' in Robin Winks (ed.) *Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume V: Historiography*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.379-402.

Tyrell, Ian. 'Woman, Missions and Empire: New Approaches to American Cultural Expansion' in Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar and Connie A. Shemo (eds), *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Missions and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, pp.43-66.

Watson, Rubie S. 'Wives, Concubines, and Maids: Servitude and Kinship in the Hong Kong Region, 1900-1940' in Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey (eds). *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of Calfornia Press, 1991, pp.231-255.

Wickeri, Phillip L. and Chen, Ruiwen. 'Contextualization and the Chinese Anglican Parish: A Case Study of St Mary's Church Hong Kong (1921-41)' in Phillip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015, pp.135-154.

Xu, Edward Yihau. 'The Protestant Episcopal China Mission and Chinese Society' in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.) *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015, pp.25-46.

Dissertations

Gronewold, Sue Ellen. 'Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Tapei, 1900-1976'. PhD Dissertation. Columbia University, 1996.